

Released 2003/05/14 : CIA-RDP79-011A000200010010-8

**EDITORIAL FILE
DO NOT REMOVE**

EUROPEAN U.S.S.R.

JOINT ARMS' NAVY INTELLIGENCE STUDY

EUROPEAN U.S.S.R.

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C., 31 and 32, as amended. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

DOCUMENT NO.
NO CHANGE IN CLASS
~~DECLASSIFIED~~
CLASS. CHANGED TO: TS S C
NEXT REVIEW DATE:
APTHI: BY 10-3 00100100

EDITORIAL FILE

Approved For Release 2014/REMOVED

79-01 DATE: 15/9/2000 10:10

-006199

LIST OF EFFECTIVE PAGES, CHAPTER X

SUBJECT MATTER	CHANGE IN EFFECT	PAGE NUMBERS
Cover Page	Original	unnumbered
List of Effective Pages and Table of Contents, Chapter X		
(inside front cover)	Original	unnumbered
Text	Original	pp. X-1 to X-4
Figure (insert, reverse blank)	Original	Figure X-1
Text	Original	pp. X-5 to X-18
Figure (insert, reverse blank)	Original	Figure X-2
Text and Figures	Original	pp. X-19 to X-36
Text (reverse blank)	Original	pp. X-37
Figure (insert, reverse blank)	Original	Figure X-6
Imprint (inside back cover, reverse blank)	Original	unnumbered

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Note: This chapter is based upon material available in Washington, D. C., on 1 August 1947.

Page	Page		
100. INTRODUCTION	X - 1	F. Southwestern ethnic groups	X - 16
A. Summary	X - 1	(1) Moldavians	X - 16
B. Historical setting	X - 1	(2) Greeks	X - 17
C. Political subdivisions of area	X - 3	(3) Bulgarians	X - 17
101. POPULATION: NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION	X - 3	G. Jews	X - 17
A. Density and distribution	X - 3	H. Germans	X - 17
B. Ethnic groups	X - 5	I. Kalmyks	X - 17
102. POPULATION: CULTURAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS	X - 5	103. LABOR	X - 18
A. General characteristics	X - 5	A. Supply	X - 18
(1) Languages and other characteristics of ethnic groups	X - 5	(1) Labor force	X - 18
(2) Religion	X - 6	(2) Employment of women	X - 18
(3) Physical characteristics	X - 7	B. Characteristics	X - 18
(4) Social stratification	X - 8	(1) Hours and wages	X - 18
(5) Social groups	X - 8	(2) Working conditions	X - 18
(6) Education	X - 9	(3) Labor organizations	X - 19
(7) Dissemination of information	X - 11	(4) Methods of obtaining workers	X - 19
B. Regional culture groups: Great Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians	X - 11	C. Key individuals	X - 19
(1) Great Russians	X - 11	104. GOVERNMENT	X - 19
(2) Ukrainians	X - 12	A. General characteristics	X - 19
(3) Belorussians	X - 12	(1) Marxist orientation	X - 20
C. Western and northwestern cultural groups	X - 12	(2) One-party dictatorship	X - 20
(1) Poles	X - 12	(3) Federal elements	X - 21
(2) Lithuanians	X - 12	B. Government of the USSR	X - 21
(3) Letts (Latvians)	X - 13	(1) Constitutional basis	X - 21
(4) Estonians	X - 13	(2) Supreme organs of power	X - 22
(5) Karelians (and Finns)	X - 13	(3) Central administrative agencies	X - 23
(6) Nentsy (Samoyeds)	X - 14	C. Governments of the Union and Autonomous Republics	X - 25
(7) Lapps	X - 14	(1) Constitutional basis	X - 25
D. Ugro-Finnic peoples of the interior of European USSR	X - 14	(2) Organization of republican govern- ments	X - 25
(1) Mari (Cheremis)	X - 14	(3) Union Republics of European USSR	X - 25
(2) Mordva	X - 14	(4) Autonomous Republics	X - 27
(3) Udmurts (Votyaks)	X - 14	D. Local governments	X - 27
(4) Komi	X - 15	(1) Basic structure	X - 27
E. European Turkо-Tatars	X - 15	(2) Regional governments	X - 27
(1) Tatars	X - 15	(3) District (<i>raion</i>) governments	X - 28
(2) Bashkirs	X - 16	(4) Cities and towns	X - 28
(3) Chuvas	X - 16	(5) Smallest units	X - 28

(Table of Contents continued, inside back cover.)

Chapter X

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

*Prepared by the Research and Intelligence
Organization, Department of State*

100. INTRODUCTION

The European USSR is the most important part of the Soviet Union. The major elements of the area's importance can be summarized as follows:

- 1) It possesses a high strategic value with regard to Europe, the Arctic, and the eastern Mediterranean.
- 2) It is larger and more populous than any single European country, including an area of 1,659,000 square miles and an estimated population of 129,100,000 persons in 1946. This area is four-fifths that of all other countries of Europe (2,093,000 square miles), and its population is slightly less than that of the continental United States (131,700,000 in 1940); Europe in 1939 had a population of 402,800,000 persons exclusive of the USSR).
- 3) It contains the most important part of the RSFSR as well as the Ukrainian SSR and the White Russian SSR, the second and third most populous of the Soviet Republics.
- 4) It includes the most important centers of Soviet industry and agriculture, despite the steady increase in the economic significance of Asiatic USSR.
- 5) It embraces most of the ethnic group known as Great Russians, who are recognized as the leading people of the Soviet Union and are numerically the largest.
- 6) It is culturally the most advanced part of the country.
- 7) It contains the seat of the central Government in the city of Moscow, (Moskva).

A. Summary

The USSR is a highly centralized state, controlled by a single, disciplined political party. Formerly primarily an agricultural country, the Soviet Union has undergone a radical change and is now one of the great industrial states of the world. Among the most important economic and political developments in the USSR in recent years have been the efforts to establish a self-sufficient economy and to strengthen the domination of the Communist Party in the state and of the Stalin faction within the Party. By 1947 the power of the Party and of Stalin's faction had become absolute and unquestioned. The Soviet economy, owing partly to the ravages of war, but chiefly to concentration on heavy industry and to low productivity of labor, is as yet unable to provide the people with an abundance of goods.

The ideological basis of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party is supplied by the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. The USSR is regarded by its leaders as the only socialist state in the world, since it has abolished private ownership of the means of production, prohibits individuals from using hired labor in productive enterprises, and organizes production under governmental or cooperative management. It is one of the main theses of the

Soviet leaders that the USSR will become a "communist society" when industrial and agricultural products have become sufficiently abundant to permit a distribution "to each according to his needs" instead of the present distribution "to each according to his work."

B. Historical setting

Pre-revolutionary Russia was a backward society, especially when compared with England, France, Scandinavia, or the United States. Its backwardness was particularly noticeable in the political field, since Russia adopted a constitutional regime only a little over a decade before the Revolution of 1917. This backwardness was also very noticeable in the social and economic fields. The capitalist system and industrialization were in an early stage of development. The standard of living of Russian peasants was considerably lower than that of the corresponding groups in Western European countries. The condition of the working class was also lamentable; wages were low, working hours long; up to 1906 the right to form trade-unions was not recognized. Russia was an illiterate country. Nevertheless the upper classes of Russian society received an education similar to that offered by Western European universities and high schools, and the standard of Russian cultural life was high.

It is common to explain Russia's backwardness in terms of the reactionary character of the Tsarist government, which, it is generally believed, was fundamentally opposed to any kind of progress. An objective study of Russia's past should, however, take into consideration a number of historical facts. At the dawn of its history, particularly in the early eleventh century, Russia was a comparatively advanced country, owing to its close relations with Byzantium (now Istanbul). In the middle of the thirteenth century, however—at the time of the rebirth of intellectual and artistic life in Western Europe that was to culminate in the Renaissance—Russia was conquered by the Tatars, who ruled it for two and one-half centuries. In contrast to the Arabs, who at the time of their conquest of Spain were among the leaders of progress and enlightenment, the Tatars were barbarians, and their influence upon Russian life was detrimental. After the liberation from the Tatar yoke (1480) another century was required by the Russian state for the reconquest of the eastern part of the Russian plain, while access to the west was blocked by hostile states. Thus three and one-half centuries of progress were actually lost. Only Peter the Great (1682-1725) made substantial progress in introducing Western influences to Russia.

In modern times, the first brief period of "Great Reforms" in Russia coincided with the beginning of the nineteenth century. Emperor Alexander I (1801-1825) created a State Council for the purpose of drafting statutory laws. Twice during his reign the idea of granting Russia a constitution based on elected bodies was given serious consideration, but such plans could not materialize so long as the largest class of subjects, the peasantry, remained in a state of serfdom.

A second period of "Great Reforms" took place under Alexander II (1855-1881). The serfs were liberated in 1861 and a new system of courts based on Western European patterns was introduced in 1864. Elected justices of the peace handled minor cases, both civil and criminal; trial by jury was inaugurated for major criminal cases; and a Supreme Court was placed at the apex of the system. All judges above the level of justices of the peace were appointed for life. The same period witnessed the introduction of a degree of self-government in rural districts and municipalities. The large majority of persons who were elected justices of the peace or members of agencies of self-government (*zemstvo*) were imbued with a real spirit of social service. The Russian autocracy appeared to be tempering its age-old despotism. Once more the granting of a constitution was envisaged, and once more this project did not materialize, this time because of the assassination of Alexander II on the very day that he had signed a manifesto proclaiming a new constitution. The reaction that set in drastically reduced the effectiveness of the new judiciary and the local governments.

A third period of "Great Reforms" marked the second half of the reign of Nicholas II (1894-1917). Under the pressure of defeat by Japan in 1905, the Russian autocracy was forced to capitulate to popular demands. This time a Chamber of Representatives (State *Duma*) was created (1905-1906), and no law could be enacted without its consent. Russia did not become a democracy; the franchise was carefully restricted, and the Emperor retained the right to veto. Although the new system did not function smoothly, a major step toward democracy had been made. The distance covered by Russia along the road of political progress since the early nineteenth century was considerable.

Progress in the social and economic fields started later than in the political field, but proceeded more rapidly. The impulse was provided by the liberation of the serfs. The Russian peasants at the time of their emancipation in 1861 received not only freedom but also part of the land which they had tilled under the landlords. They had to pay for this land, however, and the payments were high.

Moreover, the Act of Emancipation did not give land as individual property to the peasants, but made it the property of rural communities (*mir*) composed of groups of homesteads. The land was divided and, after a certain number of years, redistributed among the homesteads. It was allotted to the individual homesteads on the basis of the number of family members or, in certain parts of Russia, of adult male workers in each homestead. This system was very uneconomic. A peasant could not be expected to invest money, or even maximum labor, in land which by the next redistribution might be assigned to another homestead. The *mir* system also had distinct psychological effects. Having no land of their own, the Russian peasants could not develop that strong respect for property which characterizes farmers in Western democracies, and which as a rule fosters political conservatism.

Toward the end of the pre-revolutionary period of Russian history, however, the relation of peasants to their land began to change. A provisional law of 1906, which a few years later was replaced by a final one, allowed the peasants to separate their allotments from the rural communities. This reform, sponsored by A. Stolypin, Prime Minister from 1906 to 1911, might have become an important step forward in the improvement of Russia's agrarian conditions. The peasants seemed to have been won over by the doctrine that only increased production by means of improved technique could help them, and that this was feasible only on the basis of individual ownership. By 1916, 6.2 million homesteads (out of a total of approximately 16 million) had made applications for separation from the *mir*.

Obviously, this reform was no more than a palliative. Only peasants with means could avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the Stolypin laws. These laws represented a real threat for the poor peasants, since their existence on the small farms became more precarious after the withdrawal of their richer neighbors from the *mir*. Eventually they had either to go to the cities, where industry was rapidly growing, or to move to free land in the Asiatic part of Russia. Stolypin admitted that his program aimed at the stabilization of the Russian society on the firm foundation of well-to-do farmers. Meanwhile, a large program of land reclamation was started to accelerate movement toward the Asiatic districts.

Russia at this time was making considerable strides toward industrialization. S. Witte, the prominent Russian statesman and economic expert under Nicholas II, realized that the future of Russia rested in a progressive exploitation of its tremendous industrial potentialities. The number of industrial workers doubled between 1890 and 1913 (from 1.5 million to 3 million), and industrial production increased four times (from 1.5 billion to 6 billion rubles). Protective labor legislation limiting the working day, especially that of women and children, and prohibiting night work for women was enacted in the 1880's. In 1906 strikes ceased to be a punishable offense, and in 1912 a limited program of social security covering the risks involved in industrial accidents and sickness was inaugurated. Throughout the years of Russia's industrial growth the work day was progressively shortened, wages were increased, and the standard of living among workers was raised slowly but steadily.

Up to the time of the emancipation of the peasants and the creation of local self-government, the masses of Russia's population remained in a state of crass ignorance. Then, especially through the activities of the *zemstvos*, a program of public education was started; this program progressed with increasing speed up to the start of World War I. In 1908 the principle of universal public education was officially recognized. A system of state subsidies to local bodies was introduced, and a program aiming at the creation of an adequate elementary school system within 10 years was formulated. It is possible that had peaceful development continued, by 1920 all Russian children of school age would have had access to elementary schools.

One measure of the effectiveness of this program is the gradual decline of the illiteracy rate in pre-revolutionary Russia. According to the census of 1897, of a population of 90.3 million persons above the age of 10, 25.8 million, or 27.8 percent, were literate. No census was taken in Tsarist Russia after 1897, and therefore no official figures are available for the years immediately preceding World War I. However, one estimate for 1914 puts the index of

literacy at 40.2 percent. The advance in literacy may also be seen from the following facts. Among the army recruits (men of 21), 21.4 percent were literate in 1874, 37.8 percent in 1894, 55.5 percent in 1904, and 67.8 percent in 1914. Thus the progress achieved between 1897 and 1914 was considerable, though the elimination of illiteracy was still far distant.

In politics, economics, and culture, Russia thus displayed great efforts before 1917 to overcome the backwardness caused by unfavorable historical circumstances.

There were many dark spots in Russian life. These included the persecution of certain groups of religious dissenters (substantially mitigated in 1905) and of some national minorities (particularly Jews), which was intensified in the last decades of the nineteenth century when the policy of forced "Russification" received a new impetus. A serious condition was created by the discrepancy between the rapid growth of the rural population and the slow advance of agricultural technique. However, despite all their shortcomings, the reforms of the early twentieth century created a possible basis for gradual improvement in the field of agriculture.

Another problem was created by the gap between the relatively slow rate of political progress and the advances made in the fields of economics and culture. The growth of industry was accompanied by the rise of a bourgeoisie and of an industrial proletariat. The growth of education resulted in the rise of a numerous intelligentsia, which felt called upon to struggle for far-reaching social and political reforms. The rapid advance of education among the higher strata of Russian society was in contrast to the relatively slow spread of education among the lower strata, and this discrepancy brought about a certain estrangement between the cultural elite and the masses of the people.

Many of these social tensions, however, were on the decline in the early decades of the twentieth century, thanks to the constitutional reforms, the institution of a number of social security measures, and the advances in the field of education. Pre-revolutionary Russia might in a few decades have been transformed into a society no longer conspicuously backward; but the character of the regime was such that reaction and relapses to absolutism remained constant threats.

In March 1917 the Tsarist government collapsed because reverses suffered in the course of World War I had exposed its inherent incompetence. The moderate coalition government that succeeded it also proved unable to cope with the deteriorating military and domestic situation, and on November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power under the slogans of peace, bread, and land for the peasants. The promise of peace appealed to the masses of the proletariat and the peasantry. The promise of bread applied to the city workers, while the poor peasants, many of whom still lacked land, were attracted by the promise of land. During the ensuing Civil War and the period of foreign intervention, a hastily organized system of communism was established. After the end of the Civil War, the withdrawal of Allied troops, and the termination of hostilities with Poland, Russia was virtually in ruins, and the economic life of the country had reached a primitive level. Lenin, leader of the Bolsheviks, reversed the trend of War Communism in 1921 and introduced the New Economic Policy, which looked to private enterprise to set the economic wheels in motion again while retaining control in the hands of the state.

By 1927 the prewar level of economic activity had in general been restored, and Stalin—the winner in the struggle for leadership of the Communist Party which followed Lenin's death in 1924—soon inaugurated a series of comprehensive five-year plans. While never perfectly fulfilled, these plans have made the Soviet Union one of the greatest industrial powers in the world, even though at the cost of incalculable sacrifices on the part of the people of the USSR. Under Stalin the Communist Party has maintained absolute control of the state, and in a series of purges has ended all dissent within the ranks of the Party.

The Soviet people's capacity for sacrifice, combined with the organizational drive of the Communist Party and the existence of heavy industry created under the Soviet plans, was largely responsible for the Soviet successes in the war with Germany unleashed by the Nazi invasion of June 22, 1941. The war left the country exhausted and again partly ruined. This time, however, no concessions were made to private enterprise, and the government launched a new Five-Year Plan to restore and expand the prewar level of production. Again the people were compelled to postpone satisfaction of their personal needs for the sake of strengthening the economic and military power of the state.

C. Political subdivisions of area

TABLE X-1 lists the major subdivisions of European USSR.

101. POPULATION: NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION

A. Density and distribution

The present population of European USSR is estimated at 129 million persons. The area contains 68 percent of the total population of the USSR, now estimated at 190 million. In general, European USSR is well inhabited, having a density of approximately 78 persons per square mile. The areas of concentrated population are located in the Moscow (Moskva)-Kalinin-Orël, Yaroslavl'-Gorki-Kazan', Khar'kov-Dnepropetrovsk-Rostov, and Kiev (Kiyev)-L'vov-Odessa regions (FIGURE X-1). The northern section of European USSR in the vicinity of Arkhangel'sk and Komi ASSR and the Stalingrad-Astrakhan' area in the south are sparsely populated.

Significant population movements have taken place during the war and since its end. Much of the western section of the area is devastated and large numbers of people formerly residing there have been unable to return. Although Stalin in 1946 said complete reconstruction would take at least six to seven years, work has begun and it is probable that this region will soon regain some of its former population. However, the number of persons evacuated to the east during the war who will return to their original homes may not be very large, since the Soviet Government intends to continue to concentrate its strategic industries in the area beyond the Urals (Ural'skiy Khrebet). Within European USSR there is likely to be a shift of population from the concentrated areas to the sparsely inhabited regions, in line with the Soviet Government's plans for the location of consumer's goods industries in the latter areas.

TABLES X-1 to X-4 give the distribution of the population of European USSR, as well as the total population, the size of the area, and the political subdivisions.

TABLE X - 1
DENSITY OF POPULATION IN EUROPEAN USSR, BY ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS (1946-1947 ESTIMATE)

Administrative divisions	Approximate area (1,000 sq. miles)	Percentage of total area		Population (1,000)	Percentage of total population		Population density (persons per sq. mile)
		European USSR	Republic		European USSR	Republic	
European RSFSR *	1,201	72.4	100.0	72,700	56.3	100.0	60
Moskovskaya Oblast' (Region)	20	1.2	1.6	9,900	7.6	13.6	495
Leningradskaya Oblast'	33	2.0	2.7	4,700	3.6	6.4	142
Gor'kovskaya Oblast'	29	1.7	2.4	3,600	2.7	4.9	124
Tatar ASSR	26	1.5	2.1	3,000	2.3	4.0	115
Tul'skaya Oblast'	9	0.5	0.7	1,200	0.9	1.6	133
Murmanskaya Oblast'	58	3.5	4.8	300	0.2	0.4	5
Ukrainian SSR *	223	13.4	100.0	40,500 **	31.4	100.0	181
Kiyevskaya Oblast'	16	0.9	7.2	3,400	2.6	8.3	212
Stalinskaya Oblast'	10	0.6	4.4	3,000	2.3	7.4	300
Khar'kovskaya Oblast'	12	0.7	5.4	2,300	1.7	5.6	192
Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast'	13	0.8	5.8	2,100	1.6	5.0	162
Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast'	10	0.6	4.4	1,800	1.4	4.4	180
Zaporozhskaya Oblast'	10	0.6	4.4	1,500	1.1	3.7	150
White Russian SSR	80	4.8	100	7,200 **	5.5	100.0	90
Lithuanian SSR	31	1.9	100	2,600	2.0	100.0	84
Moldavian SSR	13	0.8	100	2,700 **	2.1	100.0	207
Latvian SSR	25	1.5	100	1,800 **	1.4	100.0	72
Estonian SSR	17	1.0	100	1,000 **	0.8	100.0	58
Karelo-Finnish SSR	69	4.2	100	600 **	0.4	100.0	9
Total	1,659	100		129,100	100		78

* Only most important subdivisions listed.

** 1947 estimate.

TABLE X - 2

PREWAR DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF EUROPEAN USSR, BY ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Administrative divisions	Rural		Urban		Total population
	Absolute	Percentage	Absolute	Percentage	
European RSFSR *	47,159,735	65.7	24,589,779	34.3	71,749,564
Moskovskaya Oblast'	2,650,058	29.7	6,268,331	70.3	8,918,389
Leningradskaya Oblast'	2,315,846	36.0	4,119,230	64.0	6,435,076
Gor'kovskaya Oblast'	2,657,374	68.6	1,218,900	31.4	3,876,274
Tatar ASSR	2,297,564	78.7	621,859	21.3	2,919,423
Tul'skaya Oblast'	1,338,710	65.3	711,240	34.7	2,049,950
Murmanskaya Oblast'	45,817	15.7	245,371	84.3	291,188
Ukrainian SSR *	19,764,601	63.8	11,195,620	36.2	30,960,221
White Russian SSR *	4,195,454	75.3	1,372,522	24.7	5,567,976
Moldavian SSR **			Not available		
Estonian SSR †	776,587	68.9	349,826	31.1	1,126,413
Latvian SSR ‡‡	1,256,757	63.8	710,920	36.2	1,967,677
Lithuanian SSR ‡‡‡	2,288,445	91.5	211,084	8.5	2,499,529
Karelo-Finnish SSR **			Not available		
Total European USSR	75,441,629	66.3	38,429,751	33.7	113,871,380

* 1939 census of the USSR. Does not include western Ukraine and western White Russia.

** The Moldavian SSR and Karelo-Finnish SSR did not exist at the time of the 1939 census. Both republics were created in 1940.

† 1934 census of Estonia. (Estonia was slightly larger than Estonian SSR.)

‡‡ 1935 census of Latvia. (Latvia was slightly larger than Latvian SSR.)

‡‡‡ 1935 census of Lithuania. (Lithuania was much smaller than Lithuanian SSR, which includes Lithuania and some territory around Vil'nyus, formerly Polish.)

Original

FIGURE X-1
POPULATION DENSITY
JANIS 40

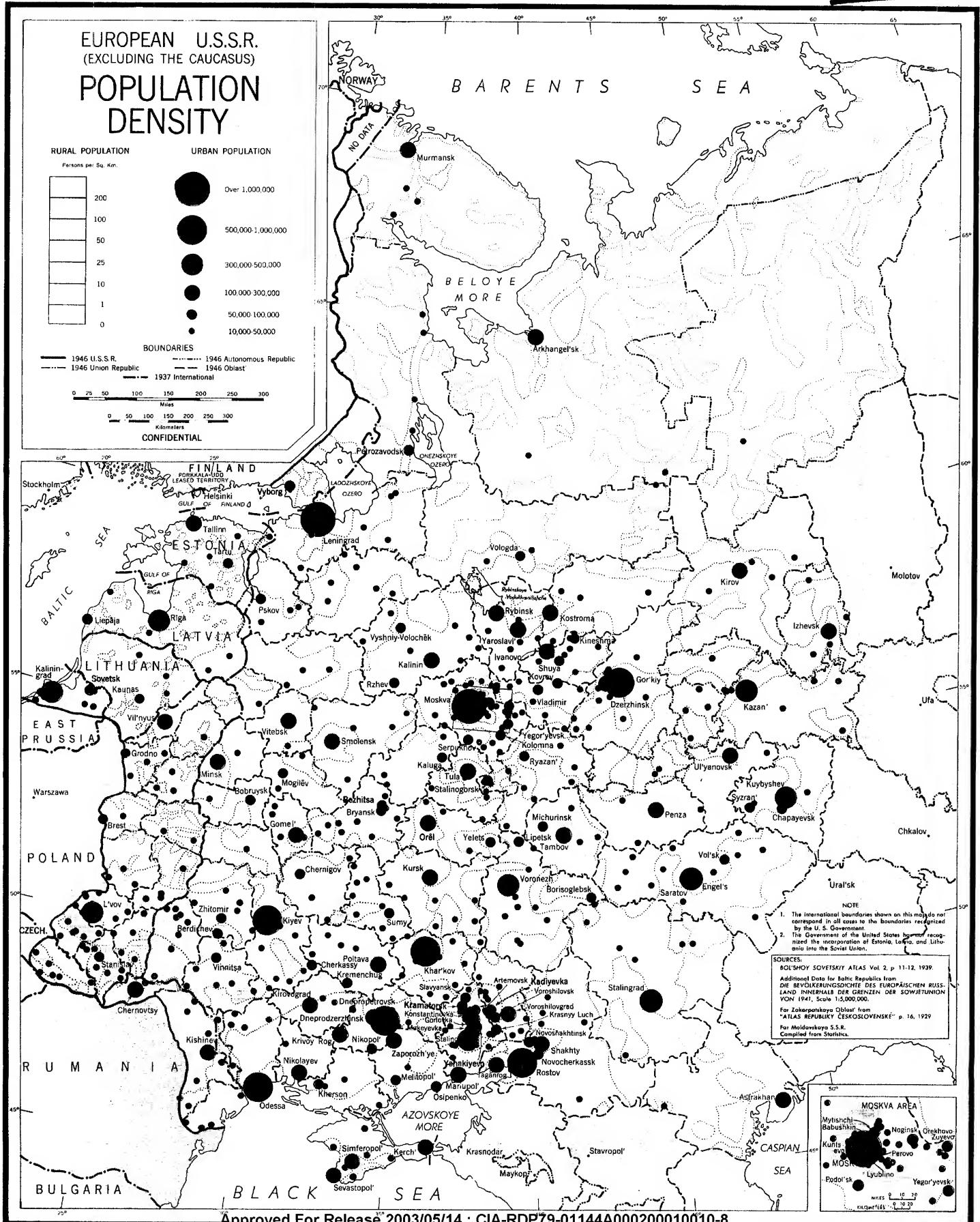


TABLE X - 3
DENSITY OF POPULATION OF EUROPEAN USSR, BY
ECONOMIC REGIONS (1946-1947 ESTIMATE)

Economic region	Population (1,000)	Approximate area (1,000 sq. miles)	Average density (persons per sq. mile)
Northern Region *	3,200	442	7
Northwest Region **	7,400	192	38
Central Region ***	47,600	396	120
Volga Region †	13,500	226	60
Southern Region ‡‡	44,300	246	180
Western Region ‡‡‡	13,100	157	83
Total	129,100	1,659	78

* Northern Region includes Arkhangel'skaya Oblast', Vologodskaya Oblast', and Komi ASSR.

** Northwest Region includes Murmanskaya Oblast', Lenigradskaya Oblast', Novgorodskaya Oblast', Pskovskaya Oblast', and Karelo-Finnish SSR.

*** Central Region includes Moskovskaya Oblast', Velikolukskaya Oblast', Kalininskaya Oblast', Yaroslavskaya Oblast', Kostromskaya Oblast', Ivanovskaya Oblast', Vladimirskaya Oblast', Gor'kovskaya Oblast', Kirovskaya Oblast', Penzenskaya Oblast', Tambovskaya Oblast', Voronezhskaya Oblast', Kurskaya Oblast', Orlovskaya Oblast', Bryanskaya Oblast', Tul'skaya Oblast', Kaluzhskaya Oblast', Ryazanskaya Oblast', and Smolenskaya Oblast'. Udmurt ASSR, Mari ASSR, Chuvash ASSR, and Mordovian ASSR.

† Volga Region includes Ul'yanovskaya Oblast', Kuybyshevskaya Oblast', Saratovskaya Oblast', Stalingradskaya Oblast', Astrakhanetskaya Oblast', Rostovskaya Oblast', and Tatar ASSR.

‡‡ Southern Region includes Krymskaya Oblast', Ukrainian SSR, and Moldavian SSR.

‡‡‡ Western Region includes Estonian SSR, Latvian SSR, Lithuanian SSR, White Russian SSR, and Kaliningradskaya Oblast'.

TABLE X - 4
POPULATION OF MAJOR CITIES, EUROPEAN USSR

City	1939 census	1946 estimate	Increase	
			Absolute	Percent
Moscow (Moskva)	4,137,018	4,500,000	+362,982	+ 8
Leningrad	3,191,304	2,800,000	-391,304	-12
Khar'kov	833,432	950,000	+116,568	+14
Gor'kiy (Gorki)	644,116	900,000	+255,884	+40
Kiev (Kyiv)	846,293	650,000	-196,293	-24
Kazan'	401,665	650,000	+248,335	+61
Kuibyshev (Kuibyshev)	390,000	600,000	+210,000	+53
Dnepropetrovsk	500,662	600,000	+ 99,338	+19
Riga *	* 385,063	480,000	+ 94,937	+24
Kaliningrad **	368,433	300,000	- 68,433	-19
Vil'nyus (Vilnius)	† 195,071	250,000	+ 54,929	+28
Minsk	238,772	150,000	- 88,772	-37
Tallinn	†† 137,792	150,000	+ 12,208	+ 8
Kishinev	114,896	110,000	- 4,896	- 4
Murmansk	117,054	95,000	- 22,054	-19

* 1935 census of Latvia.

** Formerly Königsberg.

† 1935 census of Lithuania.

†† 1934 census of Estonia.

B. Ethnic groups

The 1939 census of the USSR lists 49 ethnic groups of 20,000 persons or more. Of these 49 nationalities, persons belonging to the 23 groups listed in Table X-5 are found in European USSR (FIGURE X-2). In 1939 these 23 ethnic groups in their entirety represented 86 percent of the total population of the Soviet Union. Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians make up the bulk of the population of the USSR; in 1939 these three ethnic groups comprised 78 percent of the total. Within European USSR, Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians represent substantially more than 78 percent of the population.

Each of the Soviet republics is named after the largest ethnic group residing in the republic. In some cases the dominant group represents only 30 to 35 percent of the population. Within European USSR, however, the majority of the population of each republic is composed of the ethnic group after which the republic is named. Although Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians are scattered throughout the USSR, they are principally located in the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the White Russian SSR, respectively. Of the other national groups listed in TABLE X-5, Tatars live mainly in the Tatar ASSR and in the Crimea area; however, Tatars also reside in central RSFSR and elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Those Jews who survived World War II are scattered throughout the USSR, having been evacuated from the Ukrainian and White Russian SSRs. Poles reside mainly in the White Russian, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian SSRs, while Kalmyks lived mainly in the southeastern part of European USSR until their exile to the eastern regions. Greeks are found principally in Odesskaya Oblast' (Odessa Oblast). The other ethnic groups listed in TABLE X-5 are dispersed throughout European USSR.

TABLE X - 5
ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF POPULATION OF USSR
ACCORDING TO THE 1939 CENSUS *

Nationality	Number of persons	Percentage of total
1. Russian	99,019,929	58.41
2. Ukrainian	28,070,404	16.56
3. Belorussian	5,267,431	3.11
4. Tatar	4,300,336	2.54
5. Jew	3,020,141	1.78
6. German	1,423,534	0.84
7. Chuvash	1,367,930	0.81
8. Polish	626,905	0.37
9. Udmurt	605,873	0.36
10. Mari	481,262	0.28
11. Komi	408,724	0.24
12. Greek	285,896	0.17
13. Moldavian	260,023	0.15
14. Karelian	252,559	0.15
15. Finnish	143,074	0.08
16. Estonian	142,485	0.08
17. Kalmyk	134,327	0.08
18. Lett and Letgaul	126,900	0.07
19. Bulgarian	113,479	0.07
20. Lithuanian	32,342	0.02
21. Czech and Slovak	26,919	0.02
22. Arab	21,793	0.01
23. Assyrian	20,207	0.01
Subtotal	146,152,253	86.21
24-50. Other	23,356,874	13.79
Total	169,509,127	100.00

* Excludes territory annexed after January 1, 1939.

102. POPULATION: CULTURAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

A. General characteristics

(1) Languages and other characteristics of ethnic groups

European USSR is essentially a Slavic country. Its ethnic peculiarities are relatively simple:

- 1) A thin substratum of Finno-Ugrians, with varying and strongly diluted ingredients of Mongoloid character, exists in some sections of European USSR, mainly on the middle and upper Volga and on the Kama; they represent the remnants of the original native population that once cov-

ered much of central and eastern European USSR.

- 2) Along the Baltic there are remnants of Finnish groups in the north, and Letts (Latvians) and Lithuanians, of mixed ethnic composition, farther south and west.
- 3) The southern portions of European USSR from remote times formed a broad avenue for the movement of Asiatic peoples westward. The racial and cultural influence of these peoples, mainly of Turko-Tatar origin, on southern European USSR can still be traced.
- 4) All the rest of the great expanse of European USSR is Slavic: Russian (Great Russian) and Ukrainian (Little Russian) in the center, south, and east, and Belorussian (White Russian) and Polish in the west (FIGURE X-2).

The numerical dominance of Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians and the gradual process of cultural assimilation have lessened the significance of ethnic differences pertaining to other national groups historically associated with the development of European USSR. The old Finno-Ugric and Turkic peoples in the Volga-Ural region differed radically from the Russians in their cultural patterns 200 years ago. Today these groups—Mordva, Mari, Komi, Tatar, Bashkir, Udmurt, Chuvash—still form concentrated ethnic communities, but they are also represented in all parts of the Soviet Union, especially in settlements in Siberia and in the Asiatic steppes. All of these peoples have participated in varying degrees in the agricultural, political, and cultural life of USSR and have become gradually more assimilated to Russian patterns. Their degree of literacy was somewhat, but not greatly, below that of the Russians in 1926; the proportions of persons in these ethnic groups who were able to read in some language ranged from 23 percent among the Mordva to 38 percent among the Komi, as compared with 45 percent among the Russians. The Soviet Government pursues the policy of fostering the use of their national languages by national minorities. Where a national minority forms a considerable and compact group, its language is used as the medium of instruction in the educational system (with Russian as a secondary language in non-Russian communities) and as the official language in the courts and the administrative bodies. Thus, for instance, schools in the Ukraine use Ukrainian as the language of instruction wherever Ukrainians form the majority; however, in communities where other nationalities—Russians, Jews, Poles, Czechs, Germans, etc.—predominate, their respective languages are used in schools. Efforts are being made to encourage the development of cultural traditions of national groups in the fields of literature, fine arts, drama, and music. In some cases the invention of alphabets for previously unwritten languages became necessary. The Soviet Government, however, watches carefully the trends that manifest themselves in the cultural life of national groups; all currents that are not in unison with the fundamental Soviet policies are being eradicated. The Soviet Government, in spite of favoring national cultures among the heterogeneous population of the Soviet Union, upholds the cultural supremacy of the major nationality—the Great Russians; all other national groups are constantly reminded of the exceptional part played by the Great Russians in the life of the Soviet Union.

(2) Religion

The greater portion of the churchgoing population in European USSR adheres to the Russian Orthodox Church. Most of the remainder profess the Catholic, Protestant, Moslem, or Jewish faiths. No estimate is available for the number of Orthodox adherents, but throughout the USSR some 22,000 Orthodox churches are said to be functioning. Reports by foreign observers that at least during the holidays the churches are filled to overflowing

would indicate that the Orthodox Church serves many millions of people. Of the minority groups, the Catholics are probably most numerous. Both Soviet and Catholic sources estimate that there were about 10 million Catholics within the 1941 USSR boundaries. These are concentrated primarily in the western Ukraine, western White Russia and Lithuania. The Protestants, consisting of Lutherans, Evangelical Christians, and Baptists, form the second largest minority religious group in the area. There are said to be four million Baptists in the whole USSR, and about two million Lutherans dwell in Latvia and Estonia. Thus the Protestants as a group number approximately six million. In 1939 there were slightly more than three million Jews in the USSR, concentrated primarily in the western areas. The Baltic States and eastern Poland, occupied by the Soviet Union before June 1941, contained approximately a million and a quarter Jews. Thus on the eve of the German attack on the USSR there were well over four million Jews in the USSR, living mostly in the areas eventually occupied by the Germans. The number of these who managed to stay alive despite the German campaign to exterminate Jews has not been revealed. Most of the Moslems in the USSR inhabit the Asiatic areas of the country; about two million live in European USSR. The largest single group of Moslems comprises the million and a half Tatars of the Tatar ASSR.

Because sources of information are limited and because adherents to the Orthodox Church form the great majority in European USSR, only that church is given detailed consideration here.

(a) *Political significance.*—The separation of church and state, which was introduced by the Provisional Government after March 1917, was continued when the Bolsheviks gained power in November 1917. Religion was considered to be a personal matter and was to be unhampered. In practice, however, measures were taken which made worship notoriously difficult. The Soviet Constitution of 1936 continued the earlier separation of the church from the state and "the school from the church." It also guaranteed "the freedom of religious worship and the freedom of anti-religious propaganda." In addition, the Constitution stipulated that religion was not to be grounds for disqualifying any individual from voting or holding government office. It must be noted, however, that while freedom of religious worship—i.e., church attendance—was recognized by the Constitution, the right to give religious education to the young was not mentioned. Actually, unrestricted religious propaganda has never been tolerated in the USSR.

Before the war the government supported antireligious organizations such as the League of Militant Atheists. This government-sponsored opposition to religion did not meet with unqualified success. The head of the League of Militant Atheists admitted in 1937 that at least one-third of the people in the cities and two-thirds in the rural areas were still religious. During the early stages of the war, the Soviet Government found it advisable to alter its attitude toward religious groups, to stop the activities of antireligious societies, and to tolerate religious practices. This action was undoubtedly motivated by several considerations: moral pressure from abroad for a change in the Government's policy toward religion; the need to avoid any action contributing toward disunity in the face of the enemy; and recognition of the value to the Soviet war effort of the actual and potential support of various religious groups.

The changed attitude of the Soviet Government toward religion did not result in any modification of the laws re-

~~Confidential~~

garding religion. In practice, however, the Government began in 1943 to aid in reopening churches and to permit the printing of religious tracts, the publication of periodicals on church activities, and the opening of theological schools. Public instruction in religion for the laity continued to be restricted. While all religious denominations have been affected by the change, the Orthodox Church has been the chief beneficiary.

The Orthodox Church has not only been allowed to expand its operations within the country but also encouraged to increase its activities abroad. Visits have been exchanged with Orthodox hierarchs in the Far East, the Near East, the Balkans, Northern, Central, and Western Europe, and the United States. Through these meetings the Moscow Church has tried to regain control over the various schismatic "White" Russian church communities and to resume active "spiritual" contact with the other Eastern Orthodox Churches. It seems obvious that the Kremlin hopes that in time it may be possible to weld the various Orthodox Churches into a world body capable of serving as a counterpoise to Vatican influence.

Two government councils were established in the USSR during the war to serve as liaison agencies between the state and the various religious groups. In the autumn of 1943 the Council for Orthodox Church Affairs was organized, and in the summer of the next year a decree was passed establishing the Council for Affairs of Religious Cults. The latter body was to deal with the minority religious groups. Both councils continue to function at present.

(b) *Organization*.—The highest official in the Russian Orthodox Church is the Patriarch. He is elected by a church council composed of clergy and laity whenever the patriarchal seat becomes vacant. The last election was held in February 1945. Below the Patriarch in the hierarchy are the metropolitans, the archbishops, the bishops, and the local clergy. The Holy Synod, the most important governing body, was revived in 1943 and administers the affairs of the Orthodox Church.

(c) *Leading personalities*.—Patriarch Aleksii, now in his late sixties, was elected in February 1945. Before his elevation he had been Metropolitan of Leningrad and throughout the siege of Leningrad he remained in the city and urged his followers to resist the enemy. In recognition of these services the Soviet Government awarded him the medal "For the Defense of Leningrad." In the summer of 1946, the Patriarch was presented with the "Order of the Red Banner" for "outstanding services in the organization of patriotic work during . . . the Fatherland War."

Probably the second most influential individual in the Orthodox hierarchy is the relatively young Metropolitan Nikolai of Moscow (Moskva). Nikolai was appointed by the Soviet Government in November 1942 to the Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of German Fascist Crimes. This was the first time the Soviet authorities had ever appointed a clergyman to an official position. Nikolai has been active in Pan-Slav groups. In May 1943 he addressed the All-Slav Congress in Moscow. In December 1946 he took part in the All-Slav Congress in Belgrade (Beograd), where he called for the strengthening of Slavic unity and declared that the Russian Orthodox Church "prayed for and urgently desired" that this unity be "eternal and indestructible."

Another important member of the Orthodox hierarchy is Metropolitan Grigorii of Leningrad. He has been sent on missions abroad, reportedly, for the purpose of persuading various foreign orthodox groups to recognize the

spiritual authority of the Moscow Patriarchate. In 1945 he went to Finland for this purpose, in 1946 to the Near East, and recently he was appointed by the Patriarch to carry on negotiations with the American Russian Orthodox Church looking toward its canonical affiliation with the Soviet Russian Orthodox Church.

(d) *Role of the Orthodox Church*.—It is obvious that the Soviet Government is attempting to use the Orthodox Church for its own ends. Religious teachings are being interpreted in such a way as to lend support to the current campaign for increasing production and for additional sacrifices by the people. It is unlikely that the Orthodox hierarchy will find it difficult to subscribe to the government's contention that the Russian Orthodox Church "has consistently taught its followers that the welfare of society is more important than that of the individual." Nor is it probable that it will object to reminding the faithful that the sacrifices necessary to overcome the destruction of the war are not only a patriotic duty but also a religious obligation, since "sacrifice for the commonwealths is the basis of all Christian teachings."

In at least two of its foreign activities the Soviet Government is using the new services of the Orthodox Church. In its attempts to solidify a Slavic bloc, the Kremlin has employed the visits of Russian Orthodox clergymen to Slavic countries and of other Orthodox clerics to the USSR to emphasize the historical friendship, kinship, and need for cooperation between the Russian Orthodox Church and its counterparts in the Balkan States. The Soviet attacks on the Vatican have found support in the Russian Church, which, along with other Orthodox Churches, has long rejected the Pope's claim to be the representative of Christ on earth and has condemned the Vatican for allegedly supporting fascism.

(3) Physical characteristics

If pre-revolutionary Russia did not advance culturally as much as the Western nations, the causes were not inherent or racial but historical and geographic.

The great Tatar invasion, which started early in the thirteenth century and produced effects felt by the country for three hundred years thereafter, deeply affected the cultural and racial aspects of southern Russia. The descendants of the Tatars are still found in considerable numbers along the Volga and its southern tributaries, north of the Sea of Azov (Azovskoye More), and in the Crimea; some Tatar characteristics can be traced in many of the southeastern Russian families. The Tatar massacres depopulated southwestern Russia and created such terror that large numbers of the people fled westward into Polish territory. It was at this time that southwestern Russia, annexed to the combined state of Poland-Lithuania, became known as the Ukraine (border province) or Malorossiya (Little Russia). No such subdivision had existed before the Tatar invasion, when the region of Kiev (Kiyev), the capital of the Ukraine, was the traditional center and heart of all Russia. In the fifteenth century a return to this southeasternmost part of the Polish empire began. The bulk of the settlers who took part in the recolonizing of the Ukraine were of purely Russian origin, the descendants of the very Russians who had fled westward from the Dnepr (Dnieper) in the thirteenth century, and, though living among a Polish and Lithuanian population, had preserved their national characteristics.

At about the same time that the terms *Ukraine* or *Malorossiya* (Little Russia) came into vogue, the designations *Velikorossiya* (Great Russia) and *Belorussiya* (White Rus-

sia) also began to be used; the terms *Malorossy*, *Velikorossy*, and *Belorussky* were applied to their respective populations. The language of the Ukrainians developed certain dialectal differences. The White Russians, who occupy the westernmost part of Russia north of the Ukraine, were affected in their language, though on the whole only moderately, by their relations with the Poles and Lithuanians. The language of the Great Russians, who had spread over the central, northern, and eastern regions, was affected somewhat by their associations with peoples of the Finno-Urgic stock, with whom they mingled and whom they gradually absorbed.

The resulting differences—cultural, temperamental, and somatological—between these three large subdivisions of the Russian people are not greater than those between some of the dialectic groups of Germany or of the population in different parts of England. Anthropologically, the peoples of European USSR, like most other large human groups in modern times, are more or less admixed, and they present many variations in stature, head form, and all other features. Of the large groups perhaps the most homogeneous are the Great Russians. Their characteristics are well marked and include, on the average, light hair, bluish or gray eyes, rounded head, medium-featured face, well-proportioned to sturdy body, generally rather short but strong hands and feet, a nose which is seldom overprominent, and strong jaws.

In all these respects the White Russians are much like the Great Russians, but there are a few distinctive characteristics among the Ukrainians, who generally show less lightness of hair and eyes.

A distinctive place in the population of the southeastern part of European USSR is occupied by the Cossacks. The term *Cossack* is of Tatar derivation; it was applied by the Tatars to light cavalry before the Russians began to use it for troops formed along the southern frontiers of their country. The Cossacks were settled in several areas along these frontiers and became their hereditary defenders. The original Cossacks of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries were in the main of Ukrainian origin, but in the course of time new contingents were formed farther east, and these were of mixed Russian and Asiatic composition. The system originated in the fourteenth century when certain Russians who had fled from the Tatar yoke settled on some islands of the Dnepr (Dnieper). Gradually they developed into bold, resistant groups, loving the hard frontier life with its liberties and dangers. Similar groups developed in time all along the border of the southern steppes, and became the scourge of the Tatars and the Turks, though occasionally a source of trouble also to the Poles and even to the Russians. Their military value was recognized and led to the extension of the Cossack system over southern Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Siberia, thus the Cossacks became the forerunners of the Russian armies and Russian colonizers from the Danube to the Pacific Ocean. Until World War I there existed about 12 subdivisions of the Cossacks; the best known among them were the Don Cossacks (the other famous groups, all living in areas not treated in the present study, were the Orenburg, Ural, Terek [Caucasus], and Siberian Cossacks). Their free, democratic institutions, their customs, and particularly their exploits in the conquest of Siberia and in the Napoleonic Wars make their name famous. In the period following the October Revolution the main Cossack group, the Don Cossacks, remained for a time on the side of the anti-Bolsheviks, but since then the various Cossack groups have become integral components of the Soviet population.

(4) Social stratification

Soviet theory usually recognizes the existence of three major social groups in the USSR; workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. The interests of these groups are said to be "friendly" rather than antagonistic, unlike the conflicts between classes that are alleged to be inherent in "bourgeois society." At present the workers and peasants in the USSR are still designated as classes while the intelligentsia is viewed as a loose social stratum (*prosloika*) rather than an independent class, since members of this group are recruited from all layers of society. The intelligentsia is broadly defined to include not only intellectuals but also leaders in all fields of public activity.

Foreign observers tend to find four separate groups or classes in the USSR. The largest group is the overwhelming majority of the population and consists primarily of workers, whether in industry or in agriculture, who subsist on a low standard of living, lack political influence, often possess only the rudiments of education, and are chiefly engaged in the struggle to obtain food and shelter. This group also includes many clerical and semiprofessional workers.

The second class includes the large army of petty officials, the middle rank of salaried employees, noncommissioned and lower commissioned officers in the armed forces, and some professional persons. They enjoy more privileges than the lowest class and have a little better standard of living, although most of them do not belong to the Communist Party. Some of the more skilled workers are able to earn enough in wages and bonuses to be considered in this group. This second class is roughly identical with the lower half of the "Soviet intelligentsia," which numbered about 10 million persons in 1937.

The third group consists of the upper half of the intelligentsia, plus a few outstanding "Stakhanovite" workers who earn high salaries and incentive bonuses by breaking production records. It includes the factory managers, talented and successful artists, top scientific personnel, high military leaders, many engineers, and other specialists. Members of this group are often elected to Soviet legislative bodies and a majority of them belong to the Communist Party.

The fourth class is formed by the several hundred thousand senior members of the Communist Party (total membership, 6 million), who wield the greatest political influence in the Soviet Union even though their material rewards are sometimes smaller than those enjoyed by outstanding members of the third group. The members of the fourth class are the key administrators at all levels of Soviet life, and as such have an important influence on policy. The ultimate determination of policy, however, rests with the handful of men who form the Politburo of the Communist Party.

Soviet society is not as yet rigidly stratified. Considerable freedom of movement between the classes still exists. In the topmost level of Soviet society, however, there has been little change in recent years. The purges during the 1930's removed the anti-Stalinist Bolsheviks from all important posts, but in general the men on top today have held positions of responsibility for many years.

(5) Social groups

The rulers of the USSR would view with suspicion any social group which was not dominated by the Communist Party, and it is believed that few Soviet citizens belong to any such groups. The Constitution of the USSR lists the types of public organizations recognized in the USSR. They are trade-unions, cooperative associations, youth or-

~~Confidential~~

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

Page X-9

ganizations, sports and defense organizations, cultural, technical, and scientific societies, and the Communist Party. The Constitution specifies that the Communist Party "is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state." The chief difference between these public organizations and similar groups in the United States is that in the USSR they are dominated by the state and the Communist Party, while in the United States they enjoy a maximum of freedom from outside interference.

(6) Education

(a) *Character and adequacy.*—Education in the Soviet Union is completely controlled by the state. The Constitution of the USSR provides for universal, compulsory elementary education (four years), and guarantees the right of all Soviet citizens to a free seven-year education. Beyond this point government assistance in the form of stipends is guaranteed only to outstanding students of the higher schools. The Constitution also provides for free vocational training. In actual practice this means that, except for outstanding students, only persons whose families can afford it are able to attend the secondary (10-year) and higher schools. However, certain groups, including veterans of World War II, are granted government stipends; veterans are also granted certain exemptions from the entrance qualifications for the higher schools. The number of higher schools is not adequate to the demands of those financially able to attend, and entrance to them is based upon competitive examinations.

Since the institution of universal compulsory education there has been a rapid decline in illiteracy. In 1939, 81.2 percent of the population of the Soviet Union above the age of eight could read and write. The percentages were generally higher for European USSR, with the exception of White Russia, where literacy was 78.9 percent. In general the urban population has a higher percentage of literacy than the rural population, and similarly, those from the ages of 9 to 49 are more literate than the older group of 50 and above. Despite the high rate of literacy, the general level of education remains very low: in 1939 only 77.7 people in every thousand had a secondary education (10 years).

(b) *Elementary and secondary education.*—Formal education in the Soviet Union is divided into two categories, general and specialized, with specialized or technical training beginning on the secondary level and continuing through the higher schools. Beyond this there is a wide network of popular educational institutions such as correspondence schools and evening schools for workers.

Primary education is considered to embrace the first four years of school. Courses are limited to the elements of reading, speaking, writing, and arithmetic until the fourth year, when history, natural science, and geography are added to the curriculum. Soviet educators claim to have introduced a new type of education which differs from our concept of general education and is called "polytechnical" because all students are introduced to the "basic elements of the labor process." From the earliest years pupils are trained to take a disciplined attitude toward their studies and to take pride in work. During the war this program was expanded to include instruction in study-production workshops for fourth-year students. All students above the age of 12 are expected to work at some productive occupation for six hours a day during their summer vacations.

The general secondary schools continue education up through the seventh year (incomplete secondary schools). Incomplete secondary schools provide a general back-

ground for pupils who intend to finish their secondary education in technical and special schools, while complete secondary schools prepare their students for further work in the higher educational institutions. In both types of schools the instruction is "polytechnical." Technical and scientific studies are stressed, in addition to the general curriculum of social sciences and languages. A course on the Constitution of the USSR is obligatory in the seventh year. Such subjects as logic and psychology have recently been introduced, and there is an increasing emphasis upon foreign languages. In all schools of the USSR the principal instruction is in the language of the predominant nationality of the area in which the school is located; in non-Russian areas Russian is a required subject for all school children. In 1943 segregation of sexes was introduced in the secondary schools.

In addition to the general secondary schools, there are specialized one- to three-year institutes open to those who have completed their seventh year. These schools for the training of specialists with intermediate qualifications are called *tehnikums*. Some *tehnikums* provide industrial and agricultural training, while others offer pedagogical, medical, or other professional disciplines.

Administration of the elementary and general secondary schools is the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Education of each Republic, subject to the decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers on important questions. The latter makes possible a coordination on the All-Union level of the work of the Republic Ministries. Further coordination is assured by the leading role of the RSFSR Ministry of Education; its example is generally followed by the other Republics. Local organs of the ministries function in the *krais* (territories), *oblasts* (regions), *raions* (districts), and towns. Of these the *oblono* (*oblastnoi otdel narodnogo obrazovaniya*—regional section of popular education) is perhaps the most important. The Ministries of Education are also responsible for adult education activities.

The *tehnikums* are not controlled by the Ministries of Education, but are under the direction of the ministry in whose field of specialization the curriculum falls, while indirect supervision is exercised by the USSR Ministry of Higher Education. Thus an agricultural *tehnikum* would be administered by the Ministry of Agriculture of a Republic and indirectly supervised by the USSR Ministry of Higher Schools.

The number of elementary and secondary schools and the number of pupils attending them in the various Republics of European USSR are given in TABLE X-6.

TABLE X - 6
NUMBERS OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY
SCHOOLS AND THEIR ATTENDANCE

	1946-1947		Projected for 1950 in Five-Year Plan	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
USSR			193,000	31,800,000
RSFSR*	113,000	16,000,000	114,150	17,484,000
Ukrainian SSR	27,448	4,800,000	29,045	6,300,000
White Russian SSR	10,982	1,325,000	11,375	1,500,000
Estonian SSR	1,354	125,000	1,148	136,000
	(1938-39)			
Latvian SSR	1,464	227,000	1,598	275,000
Lithuanian SSR	3,170	360,000	3,369	390,000
Karelo-Finnish SSR	500	80,000	652	95,000
	(1940)			
Moldavian SSR	1,879	400,000	1,920	422,000

*No figures are available for the European part of the RSFSR alone; the figures given here are a total for the whole Republic, including the eastern regions.

The major responsibility for intermediate technical training does not fall on the *tekhnikums* but on the vocational schools of the USSR Ministry of Labor Reserves. The trade, railway, and FZO (*Fabrichno-Zavodskoye Obucheniye*—factory-plant training) schools were organized in 1940 to provide replacements for skilled and semi-skilled labor drawn into the armed forces. These schools supplanted the former factory-apprentice schools operated by various ministries and are all controlled directly by the Ministry of Labor Reserves. They are expected to supply 4.5 million workers, or more than half of the 7 million workers scheduled to enter industry under the current Five-Year Plan.

Students for the trade, railway, and FZO schools are recruited by an enforced mobilization of rural and urban youth, although in each call-up there are some volunteers. In June 1947 the original law governing enlistments into labor reserve schools was revised, raising the upper age limit from 17 to 19 and extending into peacetime the wartime draft of girls 15 to 18. Young people 14 to 17 are now called up to the trade and railway schools, while youths of 16 to 18 are enlisted in the FZO schools. It is not clear whether the 19-year-old boys drafted for heavy work in the mining, metallurgical, and oil industries receive any training prior to their work assignment. Trade and railroad schools require at least an elementary education and provide training lasting from two to four years. There are no educational requirements for admittance to the FZO schools. Their course of instruction lasts from six months to one year. That morale in these schools is low is indicated by the frequent number of desertions. In contrast with the *tekhnikums*, the labor reserve schools require no tuition and students are provided with maintenance and a small amount of spending money.

Upon graduation from the trade, railway, and FZO schools, students are mobilized in the labor reserves and are obliged to work for four years in enterprises designated by the Chief of the Ministry of Labor Reserves. This provides a ready source of labor which can be directed by the government into different enterprises or to different parts of the country in response to the needs of the economy.

Labor reserve schools and the *tekhnikums* combined are responsible for the majority of the students receiving secondary education in the Soviet Union today. At present there are 2,500 labor reserve schools training 700,000 students. It is intended to increase the number of schools to 5,400 and the number of students to 1.5 million by 1950.

Aside from the direct operation of the educational plant by the various government agencies, absolute control of education is guaranteed by Party supervision of the educational institutions. The Party Central Committee of the Union and of each Union Republic contains a special section for the supervision of school affairs. Frequent party directives offer guiding instructions on important school matters which the education ministries are obliged to implement. Party publications, particularly *Culture and Life*, publish criticisms of the school system. In addition to supervision by the top levels of the Party, there is a Party section in each school and university made up of Party members among the faculty and administration. Further, both Party and non-Party members among the teachers are organized in professional unions, which in turn are controlled by the Communist Party.

A major responsibility for the execution of the Party program within the schools is assigned to the *Komsomol* (League of Communist Youth, for young people 14 to 26 years old) and the Pioneers (junior auxiliary of the *Komsomol*) for children 10 to 15). The *Komsomol* has lost

its former autonomy and freedom to criticize teachers and curriculum. The duty of its members now is to assist the teachers and school directors in achieving the tasks set by the Party, to strengthen discipline and obedience to teachers, and to set an example for the other students.

(c) *Higher education*.—All higher education in the Soviet Union is specialized. There is no higher education comparable to the program of an American liberal arts college. Today there are 789 higher educational institutions (*vuzy*) in the USSR, attended by 560,000 students. Of these, 30 are universities and 20 are polytechnical institutes. The remainder give instruction in only one specialty, such as mining, communications, economics, or foreign languages. In 1946, 305 *vuzy* were transferred to the direct administration of the new Union Republic Ministry of Higher Education. The remaining *vuzy* (of railway transport, medicine, pedagogy, architecture, physical culture, and the arts) continue under the control of the respective Ministries or committees which control those activities, although the Ministry of Higher Education maintains indirect supervision over them.

The duration of study in the higher schools is from four to five years. Since the need is urgent for leaders and highly qualified cadres to direct the growing economy of the state, particular attention has been given to the development of the higher schools. The number of these schools has been increasing rapidly. In 1946 the Republics of the European USSR had the following number of higher schools: RSFSR (total includes the Asiatic regions), 486; Ukrainian SSR, 116; White Russian SSR, 26; Lithuanian SSR, 12; Karelo-Finnish SSR, 3; and Moldavian SSR, 7. Statistics for the Estonian SSR and the Latvian SSR are not available. The postwar Five-Year Plan for the whole country projects an increase in the total number of students in higher schools to 674,000.

(d) *Political impact*.—Every educational measure is a means for training the future Soviet citizen according to a preconceived pattern. Current educational policy, therefore, has important social and political implications for the future.

The ideological training of the future Soviet citizen begins with the inculcation of patriotism, which is interpreted to include love of the motherland, loyalty to the Soviet system, and absolute faith in the leadership of the state. During the war the study of Marxian theories was definitely subordinated to the teaching of patriotism, but recently Marxian studies have been given increasing emphasis. One of the chief assignments of the teacher is to indoctrinate the students with a Marxian outlook, and the Marxian view of society is supposed to be inculcated in connection with instruction in all subjects.

School graduates are expected to be infused with "Communist morality," that is, with devotion to duty, strong character, and love of work. The young are supposed to be trained to a strong sense of responsibility to the community and of service to the motherland and the people. In this subordination they are taught to seek their own highest personal happiness. Technical training is stressed above all other training because of the urgent need for skilled specialists.

During the war the need for a high level of military preparedness was implemented in the schools by military training from the very first year of school. Recently military training has been abolished for all children in the fifth through the seventh year, and for girls through the tenth year. It has been partly replaced by physical training, while additional emphasis has been assigned to the study of technical subjects and foreign languages.

Soviet schools encourage atheism. A special place is still given in the curriculum to "popular-materialist-scientific" propaganda intended to discourage "prejudice" and superstition. It is highly unlikely that wartime concessions to religion will lead to a reinstatement of religious teaching in the schools.

The introduction in 1943 of segregation of the sexes in the secondary schools reflects most clearly the change-over of the educational system from an instrument of support for a revolutionary group to a tool designed for the needs of an established government. This measure, only partially realized up to now, was taken both to strengthen discipline in the schools and to increase the stability of the family by giving girls special training in feminine pursuits related to their future role as wives and mothers, while the boys received instructions in more "manly" pursuits, such as military training.

Many serious difficulties face the Soviet educational system, a great number of them brought on as a result of the war and therefore particularly acute in European USSR. The teaching cadres suffered sharply during the war. The lack of teachers and the number of inadequately trained non-Bolshevik instructors make it difficult to give pupils the desired political indoctrination and adequate knowledge of the subjects taught. The introduction of new subjects into the curriculum has further complicated the situation. In many cases administrative and Party personnel responsible for the schools have themselves had insufficient education, so that the Ministries of Education have not been functioning smoothly. Absenteeism among pupils, which has been increasing rapidly, has had harmful consequences for the school system and has contributed to the growth of juvenile delinquency. There is lack of discipline in the schools and an unwillingness on the part of the pupils to obey their teachers.

The physical plant of the school system in European USSR suffered tremendously from the war. Many school buildings were destroyed. Others were confiscated for more essential purposes and have not yet been returned to their normal use. Textbooks and school equipment are in short supply.

These problems have been particularly acute in the territories which were occupied by the Germans, where destruction and social disorganization were greatest. In 1946, in the lower schools of White Russia, every eighth pupil failed to qualify for promotion to the next class. Recently the Ministry of Education of the Ukraine was singled out for stinging criticism because of the low level of instruction and of serious ideological perversions among the instructors. As a result of these difficulties, the schools have been failing to make their needed contribution to the economy, and in 1945 the Government could meet only one-fifth of the demand for persons with technical training.

(7) Dissemination of information

In European USSR, as in all the other parts of the Soviet Union, there is strict control of all media of information, and all of them are used to propagate Communist Party doctrine. Newspapers, literary works, motion pictures, the radio, and oral appeals of propagandists reach every corner of the USSR and are used to impress the people with the "superiority" of the Soviet way of life.

(a) *Newspapers, radio, and motion pictures.*—In the Soviet Union as a whole there are over 7,000 newspapers with a daily circulation of almost 30 million copies. It is claimed that a newspaper is issued in every government administrative unit down to the size of an American

county. Probably about two-thirds of the newspapers are published in European USSR. The adverse effect of the German occupation on the newspaper industry of the occupied areas is indicated by the fact that in 1939 approximately 1,600 newspapers were published in the Ukraine, whereas in February 1947 only about 900 newspapers were being issued.

There are more than 100 powerful radio stations in the USSR, broadcasting internally and to the outside world. It is planned to build, in addition, 28 comparable transmitters by 1950. The number of broadcasting stations in European USSR has not been revealed, although probably about two-thirds of the stations are located there. No official estimate is available for the number of radio receiving sets in the USSR. Under the present Five-Year Plan about 3 million new sets will have been produced by 1950.

The Soviet motion picture industry operated about 15,425 cinema theaters with about 525 million admissions in 1945. During the same year the trade-unions also operated about 3,400 motion picture installations. Admissions to their showings totaled 120 million. From these figures it is apparent that the average Soviet citizen attends a motion picture theater not much more than three times a year. According to the present Five-Year Plan, the number of cinemas in the USSR will be increased by 1950 to 46,700. Since two-thirds of the Soviet population is in the European portion of the USSR, probably a larger proportion of the motion picture installations is located in that area.

(b) *Other media.*—A most important instrument for inculcating desired attitudes in the Soviet population is the immense network of political "agitators." During the February 1947 elections to the highest legislative bodies in the constituent Republics of the USSR, over 3 million agitators worked "to get out the vote." In the RSFSR alone almost 2 million propagandists "carried the Bolshevik word to the masses." Over 800,000 agitators operated in the Ukraine and White Russia.

The calling of mass meetings of workers in factories and on farms is another method for guiding the thinking of the Soviet citizen. Often at these gatherings pledges are taken to fulfill and surpass the production norm assigned to the particular enterprise. Another propaganda instrument widely used, especially in large factories, is the wall newspaper. This publication, resembling a bulletin, generally contains information on local activities.

The propaganda sections at each level of the Communist Party hierarchy have the responsibility of supervising the activities of the local propaganda channels and instruments. Thus strict control is maintained over the ideas disseminated among the population.

B. Regional culture groups: Great Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians

(FIGURE X-2)

(1) Great Russians

The Great Russians form the overwhelming majority of the population of the Soviet Union; according to the 1939 census there were 99,019,929 Great Russians in the USSR, and they represented 58.41 percent of the total population (according to the 1926 census, they formed 73.4 percent of the population of the RSFSR).

There is no single anthropological type of Great Russian, since Great Russians represent a mixture of several elements. The two most common types are: 1) the eastern-Baltic type (light eyes and hair, moderately broad

~~Confidential~~

face, medium height—common in the Novgorod-Kalinin region), and 2) the lower Oka type (darker eyes and hair, smaller height—common in the central region of the RSFSR).

As in the case of the Ukrainians and the Belorussians, the majority of the Great Russians belong to the Russian Orthodox Church. Their language, together with that of the Belorussians and of the Ukrainians, forms the eastern group of Slavic languages; it was crystallized in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The language of the Great Russians, from the phonetic and lexical point of view, is divided in two dialects: the southern and the northern. The original literary language, old Bulgarian (known also as Church Slavonic), was foreign, though related to Russian. Modern literary Russian, based mainly on the Moscow (Moskva) dialect, was born in the eighteenth century.

Apart from linguistic peculiarities the peasantry, which forms the majority of the Great Russians, is divided territorially into different groups, each with its own traditions and customs. It was the policy of the Tsarist regime to emphasize the dominant position of the Great Russians among the peoples of the empire, a policy that was expressed in the popular principle "autocracy, orthodoxy, nationality," referring to the Tsar, the Church, and the Great Russian nationality. In recent years the Soviet Government has reverted to emphasis on the predominant part of the Great Russians in the life of the country.

(2) Ukrainians

The Tsarist regime refused to recognize the Ukrainians as a separate nationality, considered them the "smaller" branch of the Russians (hence the derogatory term *Malorossy*—Little Russians), and systematically fought all manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism, especially in Ukrainian schools and Ukrainian publications. According to the 1939 census, there were 28,070,404 Ukrainians in the USSR. The majority live in the Ukrainian SSR, where they constitute 80 percent of the population (1926 census).

The language of the Ukrainians belongs to the Eastern Slavic language group, and is represented by several dialects (Eastern, Western, Carpatho-Russian, Polesye). It differs from Russian both morphologically (inflections) and syntactically. The present literary language, based chiefly on the Poltava parlance of the Eastern Ukrainian dialect, was formed in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The Soviet Government's policy of spreading literacy among the Ukrainians has been quite successful; in 1926, 53.3 percent of the Ukrainians over eight years of age were literate; in 1930, 69 percent. The number of cultural institutions ministering to the needs of the Ukrainians is substantial. Primary and secondary schools of different types (29,878 in 1940-1941) have an enrollment of over 6.5 million. In 1941 there were in the Ukraine six universities and 160 different institutions of higher learning, with an enrollment of 127,872; there were also 653 *tehnikums* and intermediate professional schools with 860,216 students. Scientific research was conducted by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and by over 200 research institutes. There were 21,485 public libraries and 150 museums; 1,120 dailies and 68 magazines were published.

(3) Belorussians

The Belorussians (White Russians, named after their traditional garb of white homespun) form a distinct cultural entity because of their language and national tradition. According to the 1939 census, there were 5,267,431

Belorussians in the Soviet Union, representing 3.11 percent of its total population. The majority lives in the White Russian SSR, but considerable groups of Belorussians can be found in adjacent regions of the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR.

The Belorussian language belongs to the Eastern Slavic language group. Although closely related to Russian and Ukrainian, it differs from them phonetically, morphologically, syntactically, and particularly lexically. It is represented by several dialects. The majority of the Belorussians are Russian Orthodox, but there is a considerable Roman Catholic minority.

The Tsarist Government frowned upon the development of Belorussian national culture and pursued a consistent policy of Russification, prohibiting the use of the national language. Since 1917 the Belorussians have made considerable strides in the field of education. In 1940 the White Russian SSR had 26 institutions of higher learning, among them the Belorussian University in Minsk, a school of engineering, pedagogical institutes, the Agricultural Institute in Gorki, schools of medicine in Minsk and Vitebsk, and a veterinary institute in Vitebsk. There were 41 scientific research institutes, headed by the Belorussian Academy of Sciences. In 1940 there were Belorussian theaters in Minsk and Vitebsk, and a Belorussian opera in Minsk. In 1946, 192 newspapers were published in the White Russian SSR.

C. Western and northwestern cultural groups

(1) Poles

The Polish population in Tsarist Russia, as a result of Poland's partition in the late eighteenth century, was very considerable. The Tsarist Government persistently applied to its Polish subjects a strict policy of Russification, which became particularly severe after the suppression of the Polish revolt in 1863-64. The schools in Poland were forbidden to teach in Polish; school children were punished for using Polish in conversation. The entire administration of Poland was in the hands of Russian officials. Only after 1905 were private Polish schools authorized, and their graduates did not enjoy privileges given to graduates of Russian schools. After World War I, when Russia lost its Polish provinces, the number of Poles living in Russia was greatly reduced. According to the 1926 census, there were 782,000 Poles in the USSR (1939 census, 626,905). The overwhelming majority lived within European USSR: 198,000 in the RSFSR, 477,000 in the Ukrainian SSR, and 97,000 in the White Russian SSR. Large numbers of Poles were deported from Poland to the USSR during the war, and some Polish territory has been annexed by the USSR. Many Poles have returned to Poland from the USSR as the result of exchanges of population and the liberation of some prisoners, but perhaps a million of them still remain in the USSR, in addition to the Poles who lived there before the war.

In 1927-28 there were 577 Polish schools, three teachers' *tehnikums*, and a number of professional schools. The Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad had a Polish section. There was one Polish theater. In 1931 the Polish press in the USSR was represented by four newspapers and two magazines.

(2) Lithuanians

The Lithuanians have dwelt in their present territory since pre-Christian times; no other people seems to have settled in the area before the coming of the Lithuanians.

Their language belongs to the Baltic group of Indo-European languages. Bearing a marked resemblance to

~~Confidential~~

Original

~~Confidential~~

Sanskrit, Lithuanian more than any other living Indo-European language has preserved archaic phonetic and morphological (highly inflected) forms. Because of many contacts with the neighboring Slavs, the Lithuanians resemble them in some respects; their anthropological type is similar to that of the Slavs, they underwent identical cultural influences, and to a certain extent their language uses the same vocabulary (terms for various minerals, for agricultural utensils, and for certain household objects).

The Lithuanians are primarily peasants and as such cling tenaciously to their customs and traditions. They are devout Roman Catholics: in 1931, 80.5 percent of the population of Lithuania professed the Catholic faith. In spite of this fact, under the Tsarist regime the Catholics were treated as a religious minority; priests had to be educated in Russia, and the Vatican was allowed little influence over the clergy. The result was that the Lithuanian clergy, far from being Russified, became intensely nationalistic and played a leading part in fostering the Lithuanian national movement. During the years of Lithuania's independence between the two wars the clergy, as a whole, opposed the dictatorship of the Nationalist government. During the period of the first Soviet occupation (1940-1941), the Catholic churches were permitted to remain open, although the activity of the clergy was strictly controlled. Many priests were reported to have been shot or deported.

The Tsarist Government strictly forbade the use of Lithuanian in the schools; before 1905 the publication of Lithuanian books was not authorized. As a result of these measures, illiteracy was very high (over 60 percent in 1919). During the years of political independence the Lithuanian Government succeeded in considerably reducing the rate of illiteracy, which had sunk to 15 percent by 1939. Elementary education became compulsory in 1924, and 99 percent of the school-age population in 1939 was attending school. A number of schools of higher learning were founded during the same period; among them were the University of Kaunas (1922), the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva (1924), and the School of Fine Arts and Conservatory of Music (1920). There is also a University at Vil'nyus. During the first Soviet occupation, large numbers of Lithuanian teachers were deported.

(3) Letts (Latvians)

The Letts have been a relatively homogeneous ethnic entity for nearly 2,000 years, during which period they have known many foreign masters. As a unified, independent state Latvia lasted for barely 20 years prior to 1940.

The Latvian or Lettish language, together with the Lithuanian, forms the Baltic branch of Indo-European languages; that is, these languages resemble each other as do German and Dutch or Russian and Polish, but they are as different from German or Russian as those languages are from each other. Latvian and Lithuanian have no relation to Estonian.

Under the Tsarist regime an aggressive policy of Russification was carried out. Until 1905 only Russian was used in public schools; after 1905 Latvian became the language of instruction in elementary schools, and Russian was offered as a special subject in the school curriculum. The Letts' higher cultural standards were due largely to many educational societies in their communities. According to the census of 1935, the percentage of literacy among persons over 10 years of age was 88.85 for Latvia as a whole; among Latvians proper it was 92.09. The Latvian educational system comprised primary schools (6 years),

both academic and professional schools at the secondary level, and a variety of trade schools for training in agricultural and industrial techniques. For higher education there were the University of Latvia (in Riga), the School of Fine Arts, and the Conservatory of Music. Education in primary schools was free and compulsory.

The majority of the Letts are Lutherans. In the middle of the nineteenth century large numbers of Letts joined the Russian Orthodox Church as a result of widespread rumors that Orthodox peasants would be protected against the landlords. Most of these Orthodox Letts remained dissidents and continued to attend Lutheran churches; the Russian Orthodox Church, however, continued to attract many Letts because of the democratic attitude of the Orthodox clergy, which consistently defended the interests of the peasants.

The Letgals, who are related to the Latvians and live in Latgale, in the eastern part of Latvia, are for the most part Catholics.

(4) Estonians

Threatened more than once in the past with wholesale destruction, the Estonians not only managed to survive as a distinct race but also succeeded in preserving their national characteristics. An exceptionally homogeneous group, the Estonians represent a branch of the Finnish lineage of the Eastern Baltic ethnic group. According to the census of 1934, there were 992,520 Estonians in Estonia (88.2 percent of the country's total population). The Soviet census of 1939 showed that 142,465 Estonians lived at that time in the Soviet Union.

The Estonian language belongs to the Western Finnish group of the Finno-Ugric languages; it is closely related to Finnish. The two main dialects are the Southern (Tartu) and Northern (Tallinn); the latter forms the basis of the literary language. The majority of the Estonians are Lutherans.

The Estonians are a highly cultured national group. Estonian schools, which had been numerous during the Middle Ages and under Swedish rule in early modern times, suffered a severe setback during the period of Russian domination (1721-1917). The policy of ruthless Russification, however, which became particularly drastic in the 1880's, only stimulated the national aspirations of the Estonians. Even during the years of aggressive Russification, 98 percent of Estonian recruits were able to read and write in Estonian (1886). After the revolution of 1905, the Estonian language once again was allowed to be taught during the first two years in primary schools and in all Estonian private schools. During the years of Estonia's independence between the two wars, the fight against illiteracy made considerable progress (national average of illiteracy in 1934 was 3.9 percent, as compared with 5.6 percent in 1922). In 1936-1937 the following educational institutions existed in Estonia: primary schools, 1,281; secondary schools, 120; professional schools, 130 (35 agricultural, 12 commercial, 10 for individual apprentices, 9 industrial, 2 nautical); 1 university (Tartu), and 1 technical institute (Tallinn). There are two museums, the National Museum at Tartu and the Art Gallery at Tallinn.

(5) Karelians (and Finns)

The Karelians belong to the western (Baltic) group of the Finns. The Karelians and the Finns constitute almost 50 percent of the population of the Karelo-Finnish SSR. They are found mainly in the west and southwest. The Finns form a small minority, although their number

has been increased since new territory was ceded by Finland to the Soviet Union.

(6) Nentsy (*Samoyeds*)

The name Samoyeds, which is considered derogatory (meaning "people who eat one another"), has been officially replaced by the native expression *Nentsy* ("men," "people"). About 4,000 of this Mongoloid tribe live on the Kola Peninsula (Kol'skiy Poluostrov) and in the Nenets National District in the far northeast of European USSR, mostly on the lower reaches of the Pechora (river). They came from the Altai region of south-central USSR, where some (the Vriankhai) still live among the Mongols. Their northwest push into northern Europe occurred only in recent times. Physically they belong to the classical, round-headed Buryat Mongoloid type, although some show partially European features.

Still adhering to their traditional nomadic way of life (they dwell in conical tents called *chuma*), the Nentsy live by hunting, reindeer breeding, and fishing. Their language is related to the languages of the Finno-Ugric group. As for their religion, they adhere to shamanism, the primitive religion of the Ural-Altaic peoples of Northern Europe and Asia. The priests, or shamans, who are essentially witch doctors, enjoy a high degree of authority among them. In recent years the government has made serious efforts to raise their standard of living and to reduce their high mortality rate. Veterinary stations, elementary schools, and cooperatives have been organized among them.

(7) Lapps

The Lapps number about 30,000 and are scattered throughout northern Scandinavia, but a small group lives on the Kola Peninsula (Kol'skiy Poluostrov) (according to the 1926 census there were about 1,700 in the USSR). Members of this group are now called Saamis. Flat-faced and racially Mongoloid, considerably intermixed with the northern whites, the Saamis are reputedly the shortest people in Europe, with an average stature of scarcely more than five feet. Their language belongs to the Finno-Ugric group. Their way of living is seminomadic, and their occupations are reindeer breeding (a zootechnic station has been founded to assist the breeders), fishing, and hunting. In 1931, five elementary schools functioned in the territory occupied by the Saamis.

D. Ugro-Finnic peoples of the interior of European USSR

(1) Mari (*Cheremis*)

The Mari, previously known as the Cheremis, belong to the Finno-Ugric group. They differ from the western Finns by the darker coloring of their eyes and hair. According to the 1939 census, there were at that time 481,262 Mari in the Soviet Union. Over half of them live in the Mari ASSR (Mari Autonomous Republic).

Mentioned in Russian historical chronicles since the twelfth century, the Mari came under Russian rule after the fall of Kazan' in the sixteenth century; after frequent rebellions they finally became pacified in the seventeenth century. At the end of the eighteenth century the Government took drastic steps to convert the Mari to Christianity. In spite of these efforts, the Mari maintain many old religious traditions, such as ancestor worship and various ceremonial rites for obtaining good harvests and avoiding disasters. The sacrifice of animals to national deities was, until recently, a widespread practice. Tatar influence is noticeable in some Mari customs, e.g., in the interior decoration of their homes. The Mari show pref-

erence for white in their national garb, which is distinctive because of its rich embroidery. They possess a rich folklore. Their main occupations are agriculture, apiculture, fishing, and hunting.

The Mari language embraces two dialects, that of the "mountain" Mari (on the right bank of the Volga) and that of the "meadow" Mari (on the left bank of the Volga); the difference between the two groups manifests itself not only in the peculiarities of their respective dialects but also in customs. The "meadow" Mari show traces of a deep Tatar influence in their way of living.

Illiteracy has traditionally been very high among the Mari. In 1937, 12 *technikums* and three schools of higher learning (two pedagogical institutes and a school of forestry) existed in the Mari ASSR (Mari Autonomous Republic); in the same year there were 58 public libraries and three theaters.

(2) Mordva

In spite of representing a numerically large group, the Mordva, of Finno-Ugric stock, do not live as a conglomerate entity, but are mixed with other nationalities; this has made them receptive to foreign influences, particularly those of the Russians and the Tatars. According to the 1939 census the Mordva number 1,451,429; half of them live in the Mordovian ASSR, forming about 38 percent of its population.

Like some of the other Finno-Ugric peoples on the Volga, the Mordva came under Russian rule in the sixteenth century, after the fall of Kazan'. Soon afterward they were forced to embrace Christianity. In protest against the Orthodox Church, many Mordva joined various schismatic sects; they also maintained numerous traditions of pagan origin. Engaged in agriculture, the Mordva frequently suffered because of insufficient land allotments; as a result, many of them migrated to Siberia.

Their language, embracing two dialects, Ersya and Moksha, each with its phonetic and lexical peculiarities, is used mainly in the Mordovian ASSR; however, it is also used by Mordva groups scattered as far as Siberia and Central Asia. Like the language of the Mari, it is related to Finnish.

In 1938 the educational institutions in the Mordovian ASSR included 1,250 schools, two pedagogical institutes, and 363 public libraries; there were two Mordva theaters, and four magazines were published in Mordva.

(3) Udmurts (*Votyaks*)

Formerly called Votyaks, this tribe is at present known as the Udmurts (a native word; "ud"—the name of the tribe; "murt"—man). They live along the Vyatka and the Kama. While the Volga Bulgarian Kingdom was in existence (until the thirteenth century), the Udmurts formed part of its population; later they lived under the domination of the Kazan khans and, after the conquest of Kazan' by Moscow (Moskva), passed under the rule of the Russians. In 1939 the Udmurts numbered 605,673.

Two anthropological types are distinguishable among the Udmurts: the northern or "forest" Udmurt, with light hair and of small stature; and the "steppe" Udmurt, dark-haired, sturdy, of medium stature, and with Turkic features.

The Udmurts have preserved a number of customs reflecting both their material and their spiritual national heritage. Their dwellings are architecturally peculiar. In their social structure the woman occupies a prominent and independent position. Udmurt girls, before their marriage, enjoy great freedom. A sense of communal co-

hesion and the practice of mutual assistance are strong among the Udmurts.

The majority of the Udmurts were forcibly Christianized in the seventeenth century and belong to the Russian Orthodox Church, but many Udmurts—particularly the southern ones—practice their original religion based on the worship of ancestors and of nature. Their principal deity is the god of the fields and the protector of harvests, in whose honor domestic animals are sacrificed. They believe in the continuation of life after death, and the personal belongings of the deceased are buried with him.

Their main occupations are agriculture and lumbering. Cattle raising, truck gardening, and hunting have lost their importance.

The language of the Udmurts belongs to the Ugric group of Finno-Ugric and is related to Magyar. It is represented by two main dialects, the northern and the southern, which correspond to the two distinct Udmurt groups. Publications in Udmurt began to appear early in the nineteenth century; until 1905 most of them were sponsored by missionaries and aimed at the Russification of the population; after 1905 Udmurt novels, depicting the hardships of the people, began to appear. In 1916 the first Udmurt newspaper was founded. From the beginning, the Russian alphabet with some additional symbols for specific Udmurt sounds was used. Modern Udmurt literature is strongly influenced by the rich Udmurt folklore.

Since the 1917 Revolution, many Udmurt schools have been opened. In 1929 there were 10 *tehnikums* (pedagogical, agricultural, commercial), 75 public libraries, and two museums in the Udmurt ASSR (Udmurt Autonomous Republic).

(4) Komi

Originally called the Zyrians, the Komi (numbering 408,724 people according to the 1939 census) live in the tundra zone, which, until recently, was mostly inaccessible because of primeval forests and the lack of roads. Primarily tillers (communal cultivation of land has been widespread among them for generations), they also engage in lumbering, hunting, and seasonal work; fishing is relatively unpopular. Although the Komi were nominally Christianized more than five centuries ago during the period of the colonial expansion of Novgorod and Moscow (Moskva), they faithfully adhere to their pre-Christian religion, which is based on ancestor worship and on a well-developed concept of a life to come.

Their language, like that of the Udmurts, belongs to the Ugric group of Finno-Ugric. The Komi vocabulary also contains elements borrowed from Russian, Chuvash, and Nenets. It has two main dialects: the Vychedga-Pechora (formerly called Zyrian) and the Kama; the latter, also called Permyak, is used by a branch of the Komi which supposedly became detached from the main body of the Komi around the fifteenth century and moved southward. These Komi-Permyaks form the majority of the population of the Komi-Permyatskiy Natsional'nyy Okrug in Molotovskaya Oblast'.

Komi literature in its early stages was of a missionary character. The rich folklore of the nation began to influence Komi writers in the nineteenth century. A considerable number of Russian classics have been published in Komi. Since 1917 a press in Komi has been created. A national theater exists in Syktyvkar. In 1936, 33,500 children attended elementary schools; and in 1938, 4,470 students were enrolled in the 12 *tehnikums* and two schools of higher learning in the Komi ASSR (Komi Autonomous Republic).

E. European Turkos-Tatars

(1) Tatars

This conventional name is used to designate several ethnic groups (on the Volga, in the Crimea, in Siberia, and in the Caucasus) which use related Turkic dialects but which otherwise have little in common as regards their origin and cultural background; the groups show varying degrees of mixture with the neighboring Slavs, Finno-Ugrians, Mongols, and others. Originally, the name was used for Mongols, e.g., the tribe to which Ghenghis Khan belonged. The hordes which invaded Russia in the thirteenth century were led by the Mongol-Tatars, but the majority of the invaders were of Turkic origin.

According to the 1939 census, the Tatars of the USSR numbered 4,300,336. The Volga Tatars, numerically the most important group, are divided into Kazan and Astrakhan Tatars. The Kazan Tatars, descendants of the population of the Golden Horde founded in the fifteenth century, form the majority of the population of the Tatar ASSR (Tatar Autonomous Republic) (over a million Tatars); about one-half million live in the Bashkir ASSR (Bashkir Autonomous Republic), and large groups are found in the Molotovskaya Oblast', Gor'kovskaya Oblast', and Saratovskaya Oblast'. Their chief occupation is agriculture.

The Astrakhan Tatars, on the lower reaches of the Volga, are descendants of the population of the Astrakhan Khanate (fifteenth century). They number about 50,000, and their main occupations are cattle raising, fishing, and hunting.

The Crimean Tatars consist of two distinct groups. One of these is the "steppe" Tatars (about 125,000 in 1931), who inhabit the steppes and the plateaus of northern Crimea. Their anthropological type shows definite Mongol traits. Their main occupation is agriculture and cattle raising. The second group is the "mountain" Tatars (about 54,000 in 1931), who live in the southern section of the Crimea, both in the mountains and along the seashore. In their appearance they resemble the southern European type—perhaps a result of a strong southern European admixture (Greeks, Anatolian Turks, Genoese). Their main occupations are horticulture, truck gardening, tobacco raising, and viticulture. The mountain Tatars are called "Tat" by the steppe Tatars, while the latter are called "Nogai" by the mountain Tatars.

The majority of the Tatars are Moslems and belong to the Sunnite sect. A small minority of the Kazan Tatars are Orthodox.

The language of the Tatars belongs to the northwestern group of the Turkic tongues. The Tatars in the northern Crimea use a dialect related to that of the Kazan Tatars, whereas the dialect of the South Crimean Tatars is closer to Osmanli. After the defeat of the Kazan Khanate in the sixteenth century, the Russian authorities tried to interfere with the development of national culture among the Tatars. Not until the nineteenth century did an era of Tatar cultural renaissance set in. The literature created by this movement at first had a religious imprint. The literary language differed considerably from the spoken one, and only toward the end of the nineteenth century were the two languages brought closer together. At the same time literature shook off the influence of the clergy, and more attention was given to the study of the rich folklore and to the adoption of Western culture. After the Revolution of 1905, a Tatar national theater and a press were created (the first Tatar newspaper in the Crimea appeared in 1873). At present there is a Tatar opera

~~Confidential~~

and a drama theater in Kazan. Originally the Tatar language, like other Turkic languages, used the Arabic alphabet; the present Tatar alphabet is based on Russian. The Tatars are very artistic; they are best known for their handicraft made of dyed leather, jewelry made of silver, and embroidery and ceramics.

Because of alleged disloyalty during World War II, the majority of the Crimean Tatars were exiled by the Soviet authorities to Siberia and Central Asia; the Crimean Autonomous Republic was abolished in 1945.

(2) Bashkirs

The Bashkirs are a mixed group in which the predominant Turkic elements are combined with Mongolian and Finnish elements. Their anthropological type is Turkic (medium height, dark hair and eyes, brachycephalic). According to the 1926 census there were in the USSR 713,000 Bashkirs, of whom 673,000 lived in the Bashkir ASSR (Bashkir Autonomous Republic), forming 23.6 percent of its total population. The 1939 census registered 842,925 Bashkirs.

Brought under Russian domination in the sixteenth century after the fall of the Kazan Khanate, they repeatedly rose in revolt against their new masters but were finally subdued late in the eighteenth century. The national tradition of the Bashkirs is uncertain; some consider themselves descendants of the Bulgarians, others of the warriors of Genghis Khan. Repeated efforts to Christianize the Bashkirs failed and they have remained Moslem, though their attitude toward their religious dogmas is rather free.

At the present time they have given up their original nomadic life and have become cattle raisers and farmers. However, some customs dating back to the nomadic period still survive; for instance, the southern Bashkirs leave their villages every summer and spend the warm season in the steppes in temporary dwellings. Another survival of the nomadic era, when the stealing of cattle was widespread, is the frequent occurrence of horse stealing, which, according to local tradition, is considered only a minor transgression.

The language of the Bashkirs belongs to the Turkic group, and consists of two main dialects: the mountain dialect and the steppe dialect. Except for some lexical differences, the Bashkir language is similar to that of the Kazan Tatars. The Bashkirs possess a rich national folklore.

(3) Chuvash

The Chuvash (numbering 1,367,930, according to the 1939 census), besides inhabiting the Chuvash ASSR (Chuvash Autonomous Republic), live in Kuybyshevskaya Oblast', in the Tatar ASSR and the Bashkir ASSR, and in Western Siberia. Of Turkic origin, the Chuvash anthropological type presents the following characteristic features: dark complexion, large, dark eyes with the Mongol eyelids, sparse beard, a broad flat nose. Traditionally engaged in agriculture, the Chuvash enjoy a reputation as expert apiarists. They are believed to be related to the Volga Bulgars, whose historical destiny they have shared. They came under the Tatar domination after the defeat of the Volga Bulgarian Kingdom. When in the sixteenth century Tsar Ivan the Terrible attacked Kazan, the Chuvash peasants supported him in his fight against the Tatars. Subsequently the Chuvash repeatedly rebelled against the Russian authorities; in the middle of the nineteenth century they participated in the so-called "potato" riots caused by the efforts of the government to

introduce potato growing. The history of the Chuvash records the stubborn resistance of the nation to the proselytizing efforts of the Orthodox Church, which for centuries tried to destroy the old Chuvash religious customs. Under the influence of the Tatars many Chuvash became Moslems. Many Chuvash national traditions were kept alive in the nineteenth century (ancient festivals with communal sacrifices, traces of group marriages, matriarchal system etc.); at present only female garments and ornaments, together with some seasonal holidays, reflect Chuvash traditions.

The Chuvash language, which belongs to the Turkic language group, has influenced the language of the Finno-Ugric peoples who live in their vicinity (Mordvan, Mari, Udmurt, Komi); even distant Finno-Ugric peoples like the Magyars have Chuvash elements in their language. On the other hand, the Chuvash have borrowed words from many other languages (Arabic, Persian, Tatar, Russian, and Finno-Ugric). Chuvash is spoken at present by more than one million people.

The first Chuvash school was founded at Simbirsk (now Ul'yanovsk) in 1871; in 1876 it was transformed into a teachers' seminary. Up to 1917 over 1,000 Chuvash teachers had graduated from it. The number of Chuvash schools has considerably increased since 1917. In 1934, 25 *tekhnikums* functioned in the Chuvash ASSR (Chuvash Autonomous Republic). In Cheboksary, its capital, there is a national theater; studies of Chuvash are carried on by the Chuvash Research Institute.

F. Southwestern ethnic groups

(1) Moldavians

The Moldavians are related to the Rumanians; both nationalities resulted from the mixture of the Dacians and other local tribes with the Roman colonists and soldiers during the Roman domination over Dacia (second and third centuries). At the present time the two peoples are distinct, since their historical evolution took place under different social, economic, and cultural conditions. For centuries the Moldavians in Bessarabia were subjected to the influence of heterogeneous national groups—Goths, Huns, Slavs, Bulgars, and Turks; they absorbed large numbers of Ukrainians and Walachian (Rumanian) peasants who escaped to Bessarabia from Rumanian serfdom. Before the occupation of Bessarabia by Rumania in January 1918, 47.6 percent of its population was Moldavian. According to the 1939 census, the Moldavians then inside the USSR numbered 260,023. In 1940 an additional four million persons from Rumania were reportedly added to the USSR; many of them were Moldavians.

Moldavian is a Romance language; represented by two dialects (northern and southern). It was used in literary works of the seventeenth century. It has strong Slavic admixtures of archaic origin; 30 percent of its roots are Slavic, and during more recent centuries Moldavian has been influenced by Russian and Ukrainian. It also contains Turkish elements. In contrast, Rumanian has been influenced much less by Slavic languages but contains many words of Magyar origin. The Moldavians, asserting their cultural independence, resisted Rumanian influences during the years of Rumanian rule (1918-1945); only 6 percent of the Moldavians adopted the Rumanian language.

Moldavian schools were organized after the 1917 Revolution; simultaneously textbooks in Moldavian began to appear. In 1946 a university was opened in the Moldavian SSR.

~~Confidential~~

Original

~~Confidential~~

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

Page X-17

(2) Greeks

Large numbers of Greeks migrated to Russia in the latter part of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth centuries. In European Russia they settled in the Novorossiya region, that part of southern Russia along the Black Sea and Sea of Azov (Azovskoye More) comprising in the early twentieth century the districts of Bessarabia (now Moldavian SSR), Kherson, Ekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk), and Stavropol', and Don Oblast*. According to the 1939 census, there were in the USSR 285,896 Greeks. Their chief occupations were agriculture, cattle raising, and commerce.

(3) Bulgarians

The Bulgarians who live within the USSR are descendants of the Turkic tribe that came from eastern Russia and settled in the Danube region in the fifth and sixth centuries. There they mixed with Slavs and founded in the seventh century a kingdom which first was ruled by Turkic Khans. In the ninth century they were converted to Christianity.

According to the 1939 census, there were 113,479 Bulgarians in the USSR. They live in southern Bessarabia and the southern Ukraine; their numbers have increased somewhat owing to wartime Soviet annexations of territory. Their main occupation is truck farming. Their language belongs to the southern group of Slavic languages.

The Volga Bulgarians, of whom no trace remains today, were of mixed Finno-Turkic origin. Between the eighth and thirteenth centuries they formed a powerful kingdom along the middle reaches of the Volga and along the Kama, with Bolgary (near Kazan') as their capital. Their cultural influence upon the minor tribes living in that region was considerable. In the thirteenth century they were conquered by the Tatars and completely dispersed in the Kazan Tatar Khanate.

G. Jews

The oldest Jewish group in western USSR is that in the Caucasus; Jews settled in the Crimea in the first century A. D. After the destruction of the Khazar Kingdom in the eleventh century they infiltrated into the principality of Kiev (Kiyev) and into Lithuania. When Poland was partitioned in 1796, Russia annexed Belorussia (White Russia) with its large Jewish population. With the exception of the Ekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk) and Taurida ** districts, which were colonized under Catherine II, the Jews were excluded from other Russian districts; thus the Jewish "Pale" in White Russia and parts of the Ukraine was created.

The wave of pogroms which started in the 1880's and continued intermittently until 1905 caused a large emigration of Russian Jews to foreign countries. The census of 1897 registered 5,189,401 Jews in Russia (4.13 percent of the total population). After World War I, Russia lost a considerable percentage of its Jewish population through cession of territory to Poland, the Baltic States, and Rumania. The 1926 census registered 2,672,000 Jews within Soviet Russia, and the 1939 census, 3,020,141. During World War II the Jewish population of White Russia and the Ukraine was tremendously reduced.

* Don Oblast'. Oblast' Voyska Donskogo (Territory of the Don Cossacks) includes most of Rostovskaya Oblast' and parts of Stalinskaya Oblast', Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast', Stalingradskaya Oblast', and Krasnodarskiy Kray.

** Taurida includes the present Krymskaya Oblast', part of Khersonskaya Oblast', and most of Zaporozhskaya Oblast'.

As a result of political, social, and economic conditions, a relatively small percentage of the Jews is engaged in agriculture; the Jewish population remains predominantly urban.

Yiddish, used by many Jews in Soviet Russia (over 72 percent consider it their mother tongue), belongs to the German group of the Germanic languages. It was carried to Eastern Europe by immigrants from the Rhineland in the late middle ages. Its vocabulary contains many elements borrowed from Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian. Its two dialects, the Lithuanian or "O" dialect and the Polish-Ukrainian or "U" dialect differ from one another both phonetically and lexically. Literary Yiddish is based primarily on the Lithuanian dialect; it uses the Hebrew alphabet. Yiddish is used as the official language in schools, courts, and administrative offices in communities with a large Jewish population (in the Ukraine and in White Russia).

H. Germans

After World War I the German population of Russia considerably diminished. According to the 1897 census, 1,790,500 Germans lived in Russia, but in 1926 there were only 1,238,486; the rest remained in territories detached from Russia, i.e., Poland, the Baltic States, and Bessarabia. The census of 1939 registered 1,423,534 Soviet Germans.

The Germans in Russia are descendants of German immigrants who settled in the Neva region under Peter I (1682-1725), and on the Volga (Saratov district), on the Black Sea, and in the Dnepr region under Catharine II (1762-1796) and her successors. The overwhelming majority of these settlers were engaged in agriculture. A manifesto issued by Catharine II in 1763 granted them religious freedom and other privileges (exemption from taxation and military service, assignment of 65 hectares to each household). As a result of these privileges, and because of a degree of self-administration and the use of relatively advanced methods of agriculture, the German communities prospered. In 1870 the attitude of the Tsarist government toward the German colonists changed radically; many privileges were annulled (among other things the German communities lost the right of self-administration), and a drastic policy of forced Russification was inaugurated. Many Germans moved from the Volga region and the Ukraine to more distant regions (northern Caucasus, Siberia, and Central Asia).

Under the Soviet regime the Germans repeatedly rebelled against the new system (in 1919 in the Odessa region, in 1921 on the Volga). After the invasion of Russia by Hitler the Soviet authorities, mistrusting the German population, abolished the German Volga ASSR* on September 7, 1941 and moved large numbers of Germans to remote regions of the Soviet Union. The Germans belonged to the most cultured group among the population of European USSR.

I. Kalmyks

The Kalmyks (known also as Dzhungary), numbers of whom inhabited European USSR until recent years, belong to the western branch of the Mongols; a part of this people migrated in the seventeenth century—with culture, language, and physical type almost intact—from Central Asia and settled in the area from the Astrakhan' steppe to the west of the Volga delta. They participated actively

*The territory of the German Volga ASSR was divided between the Saratovskaya Oblast' and the Stalingradskaya Oblast' of RSFSR.

in the peasant riots of the eighteenth century, particularly in the revolt headed by Pugachev. Undoubtedly they have mixed racially to some extent with Russians and Tatars, but they remain essentially classic Buryat Mongoloid in physical type. Their total number is over half a million, the majority of whom, about 400,000, live in Mongolia and western China. In the USSR, according to the 1939 census, there were 134,327 Kalmyks; about 107,000 lived in the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic, forming 75 percent of its total population.

The majority of the Kalmyks are nomadic cattle raisers who until recently retained a complex tribal organization and lived under the rule of hereditary tribal chieftains. The basic social group is the *khoton*, a nomadic union of a score or two of households—known as tents (*kibitka*)—which move together from place to place, and which trace their origin back to a common ancestor. Several *khotons* form a tribal community called *aymak*, and several *aymaks*, an *ulus*. There were eight *ulus* in the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic in 1939.

The Kalmyks are Lamaists. Before the 1917 Revolution the Lamaist clergy, which formed about 30 percent of the Kalmyk population, exercised great influence among them.

In 1916 there were 31 schools in the Kalmyk territory, and the language of instruction was Russian. A special school, mainly for the training of interpreters, existed in Astrakhan'. Literacy was very low (2 to 3 percent). In 1917 there were only four Kalmyks with college education. In the years preceding World War II several *tehnikums* (veterinary, agricultural, fine arts) were organized, and the Astrakhan' Pedagogical Institute had a special division for the training of Kalmyk teachers. Instruction in elementary schools was offered in the native language. In 1937 there were seven public libraries servicing the Kalmyk population. Before 1917 literature was represented only by oral folklore. In 1934 the Latin alphabet was adopted for Kalmyk publications.

Because of alleged disloyalty during World War II, the Kalmyk population was banished by the Soviet authorities to remote sections of Soviet Asia, and the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic was abolished in 1943; its territory was distributed among Stavropol'skiy Kray, Stalingradskaya Oblast', Rostovskaya Oblast', and the newly founded Astrakhanskaya Oblast'.

103. LABOR

A. Supply

(1) Labor force

As in the prewar period, agricultural and industrial manpower in the USSR has been short since the end of hostilities. The qualitative and quantitative inadequacy of the labor force is a reflection of the huge reconstruction task necessitated by the devastation caused by the Germans and of the goals for the expansion of production dictated by the Soviet Government.

In agriculture the damage to farms and equipment in the Ukraine and White Russia requires large numbers of workers for rebuilding projects and for the maintenance of output even below prewar levels. Since industry depends on the rural areas for most of its labor recruits, the inability of these areas to yield workers in large enough numbers strains the expansion plans of industry.

The postwar economy of European USSR has been particularly harassed by the lack of skilled workers and

specialists. In part this has been an absolute shortage, resulting from the losses of skilled workers during the war, and in part there has been an incomplete utilization of the supply of skilled workers and specialists. In addition, the government has encouraged shifts of specialists from this area to the eastern industrial regions, where they are even more badly needed.

Aggravating the situation has been the low productivity of much of the available labor supply; many workers have received little vocational training and many are working on worn-out machines that break down frequently and cannot be operated long at maximum capacity. Labor efficiency is also held down by high turnover rates in many areas where food and housing are unsatisfactory.

(2) Employment of women

Women play an important role in the labor force, performing both light and heavy tasks in agriculture and industry. Many of them work as ordinary laborers in such industries as metallurgy and machine building; in addition, considerable numbers are also skilled workers who received training in the State Labor Reserve Schools.

B. Characteristics

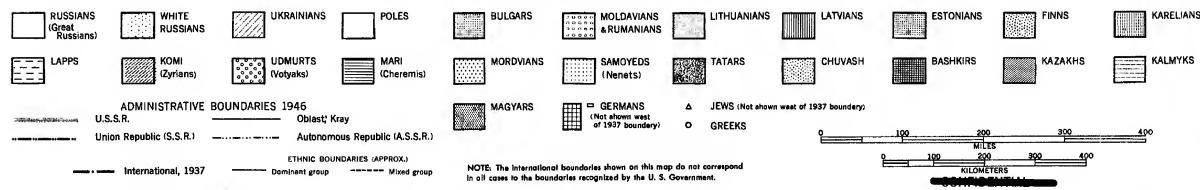
(1) Hours and wages

Since the close of hostilities it has been found possible to reduce hours of work in industry from the high wartime average of 66 hours a week to the 48-hour week established in 1940. The situation has probably also been somewhat eased in agriculture by the return of more men to the farms. However, since the physical burdens of war devastation and reconstruction are more keenly felt in European USSR than in other parts of the country, it is unlikely that there will be any further shortening of work hours for some time to come.

The wage system is carefully arranged to insure that the most highly trained and most efficient workers get the highest rewards. This is done by setting up an elaborate system of piece rates and bonuses, both in industry, and, as far as is practicable, in agriculture. Various forms of socialist competition are an important means of stimulating the workers to fulfill and exceed the norms of work set for them. Hence there are wide divergences between the amounts earned by highly skilled and successful workers and by unskilled laborers. In a heavy machine-building factory in the Urals in 1945, for example, hourly rates varied for workers on time rates, from 70 kopecks up to 2 rubles, 52 kopecks, and for piece-rate workers from 80 kopecks to 2 rubles, 90 kopecks. This system was used for many years before the war and was intensified during the war years, with the difference that in wartime scarce commodities, such as food and clothing, were widely used as production incentives instead of money.

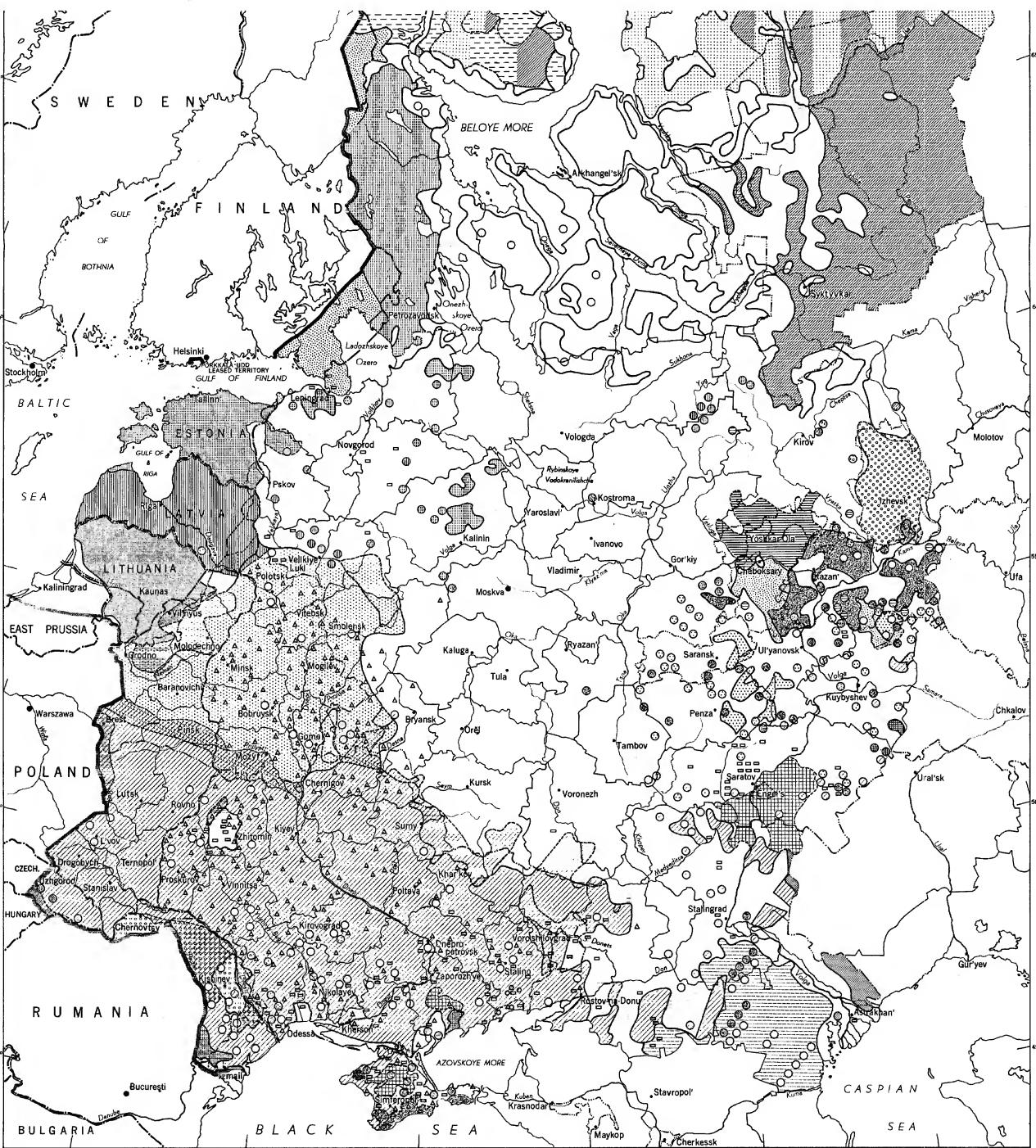
(2) Working conditions

Even the high wages earned by some Soviet workers before the war did not enable them to enjoy a high standard of living, since the supply of consumers' goods, housing, medical care, safety provisions in factories, and other circumstances, in spite of improvement over previous Soviet achievements, were still below standards established in more advanced countries. The war had the effect of reducing living and working standards sharply for all Soviet workers, and restoration of even the inadequate prewar level will take time. This is particularly true of the invaded areas of European USSR, where physical devastation of homes as well as industrial installations was widespread.



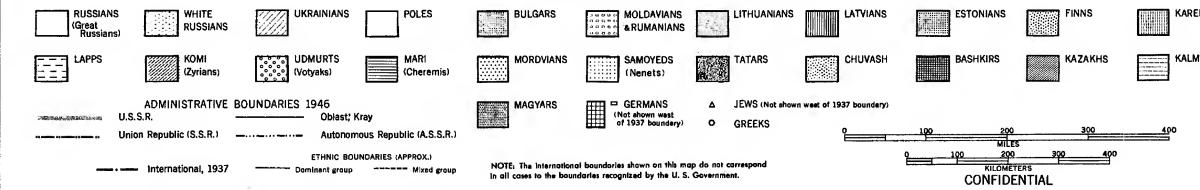
10443 Map Branch, CIA, 5-48

U.S. GPO-S

EUROPEAN U.S.S.R. ETHNIC GROUPS (BEFORE 1939)
(EXCLUDING THE CAUCASUS)

SOURCES: VOLKSKARTE DER SOWJET-UNION (European part) 1:5,000,000 Reichamt für Landesaufnahme, Berlin, 1941

Data for Czechoslovakia from ATLAS REPUBLIKY ČESkosLOVENSKÉ, 1933 plate 16, 1:5,000,000



CONFIDENTIAL

(3) Labor organizations

Soviet trade-unions are an important part of the labor scene. In 1941 they included within their ranks 85 percent of the total Soviet industrial labor force, or 25.5 million workers and employees, of whom probably about two-thirds were in the European USSR. The unions play an intimate part in the lives of the workers, since their functions are much wider than the functions of Western trade-unions. They administer a far-reaching system of social insurance, including benefits for superannuation, invalidism, temporary disability, sickness, maternity, and so on. They attend to the drawing up of collective agreements with employers, settle relative wage rates and industrial disputes, supervise industrial training and labor protection legislation, and in many other ways look after the professional and personal interests of their members. However, they do not bargain with the state for higher wages.

(4) Methods of obtaining workers

Labor in the Soviet Union is planned and regulated like all other sections of economic activity, and stringent wartime controls insured that workers were kept on the job wherever they were most needed. These controls have not yet been formally abrogated, although their practical application may have become less severe with the return of veterans to civilian life and the consequent easing of the extremely strained labor situation.

Industry recruits its labor supply through various channels, an important source of supply of young skilled workers being the State Labor Reserve Schools set up by the Government in 1940 and now operating under the Ministry of Labor Reserves created in May 1946. The trainees of these schools, boys 14-19 years of age and girls 15-18, are drawn from collective farms and urban centers according to quotas laid down by the government, which maintains the students during their period of training and requires them to work where directed for four years after graduation. Males 19 years of age may be assigned to heavy industry directly by administrative decree without receiving prior vocational training in the labor reserve schools. By August 1947 more than 3 million trainees had been graduated from these schools and drafted into industry, mainly into the metalworking and construction branches.

Older workers are recruited from collective farms on the basis of contracts drawn up between the farms and individual industrial enterprises. Alternatively, they are recruited by local labor exchange offices operated by the Ministry of Labor Reserves, and then trained on the job, either at the work bench under the supervision of experienced workers, or in various part-time courses arranged by the factory authorities and the trade-unions.

The technical personnel for industry—engineers, economists, and others—is recruited from government-supported colleges and technical schools throughout the country. Students pay fees to these institutions, but those who are successful in their studies receive government stipends and are drafted into the appropriate branch of industry on completion of their training.

Collective farms recruit their rank-and-file workers from among members of the collectives and their families. Experts for agriculture are obtained by sending suitable young people to be trained in colleges and vocational schools or in agricultural mechanization schools organized by the Ministry of Agriculture.

C. Key individuals

Two of the key individuals on the labor scene, Kuznetsov and Tarasov, are prominent trade-union officials and have

become known in the United States and elsewhere as a result of their participation in the work of international bodies in recent years. Vasili Vasilievich Kuznetsov is a comparatively young man (born in 1901) who received part of his technical education in the United States and speaks excellent English. Beginning his career as a steel worker, he has since risen to high office. Early in 1946 he was appointed to succeed N. M. Shvernik as Chairman of the Council of Nationalities in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. He has carried these duties in addition to those of his previous appointment, held since March 1944, of Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade-Unions, in which capacity he took a prominent part in important trade-union meetings and also meetings of the United Nations in England, San Francisco, and Paris. He headed the Soviet Trade-Union Delegation which visited the United States in 1945 as guest of the CIO.

Unlike Kuznetsov, Mikhail Petrovich Tarasov speaks very little English, though he has also been internationally prominent in recent years. Formerly Chairman of the Central Council of Railway Workers in the Central Region, he became a Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade-Unions in March 1944. He participated in the Anglo-Soviet Trade-Union talks in 1943, headed the Soviet Trade-Union Delegation which visited the liberated areas of Italy in 1944, and in 1945 was present as a Soviet representative at the British Trades-Union Congress held in Blackpool, England, and at the World Trade-Union Conference held in Paris. He became Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in June 1947.

Another important labor figure is Petr Georgievich Moskatov. He was appointed Chairman of the Chief Administration of Labor Reserves of the USSR when that body was established in 1940, at which time he was Chairman of the Committee for the Registration and Distribution of Labor Force established in 1938. His previous job was that of a Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade-Unions, in which capacity he drew up in 1938 a "Draft of Model Rules for Trade-Unions."

In May 1946 the two bodies of which Moskatov was chairman were merged into the single Ministry of Labor Reserves, and he was replaced by V. P. Pronin as head of the new organization. Pronin now emerges as an important official in the labor sphere after a career previously devoted to Party politics. His previous appointments have included the following: 1938, Chief of the Section of Party Personnel of the Moscow City Party Committee, and Third Secretary of the same committee; 1939, President of the Moscow Soviet; 1941, member of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

104. GOVERNMENT**A. General characteristics**

In three decades the Soviet Government has rooted itself in the Russian land and raised the country to the position of the leading power on the Eurasian Continent. Bolshevik rule, stemming from the left wing of the international Marxist movement, meanwhile has transformed that wing into an effective arm of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Government has survived three major tests: the intervention and civil war of 1918-1921, the peasant resistance of 1929-1932, and the invasion by Germany in 1941-1945. In the process there has developed an all-powerful government which has monopolized all industry, communications, and trade; which has brought the peas-

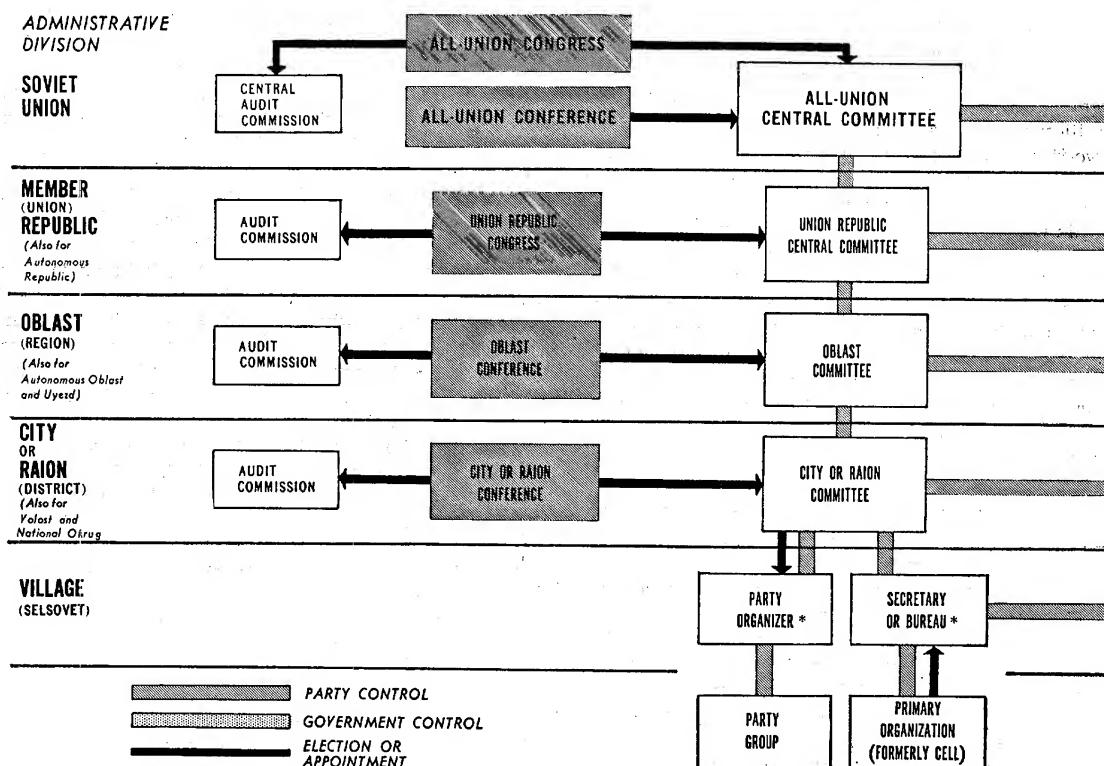


FIGURE X - 3. Relation of the Communist Party

ants into collective farms subject to a great amount of state control; and which has excluded from cultural and educational activities all currents of thought and behavior considered antagonistic to Bolshevik values.

(1) Marxist orientation

The most distinctive feature of the Soviet order lies in its Marxist orientation. Although the Stalin regime modified tenets of Marxism prized by Communist groups inside and outside the Soviet Union, Stalin and his associates continued to interpret domestic and world trends in terms of the Marxian dialectic.

On the internal front Soviet developments were interpreted as the triumph of socialism over capitalism. By the end of the 1920's the Stalin regime had withdrawn the concessions to capitalism which had characterized the period of NEP (New Economic Policy, introduced in 1921). The "resumption of the socialist offensive" was signaled by the inauguration of the Five-Year Plans (first plan, 1928-1932). These plans attached the highest priority to industrialization, with constant emphasis on heavy industry and increasing attention to defense industry, particularly in the Second and Third Five-Year Plans (1933-1937, 1938-1942). In agriculture the First Five-Year Plan practically achieved the elimination of the individual peasant economy and the creation of a network of collective farms. The agricultural revolution, while directed against the kulaks (well-to-do peasants) "as a class," actually aroused violent resistance in the villages among other peasant groups as well as the kulaks. The program was pushed through despite this opposition, so that the Bolsheviks by the mid-1930s were able to celebrate the victory of "socialism in one country." The attainment of communism, envisaged as the higher stage of socialism, was put off to a distant future. Severe repression faced those

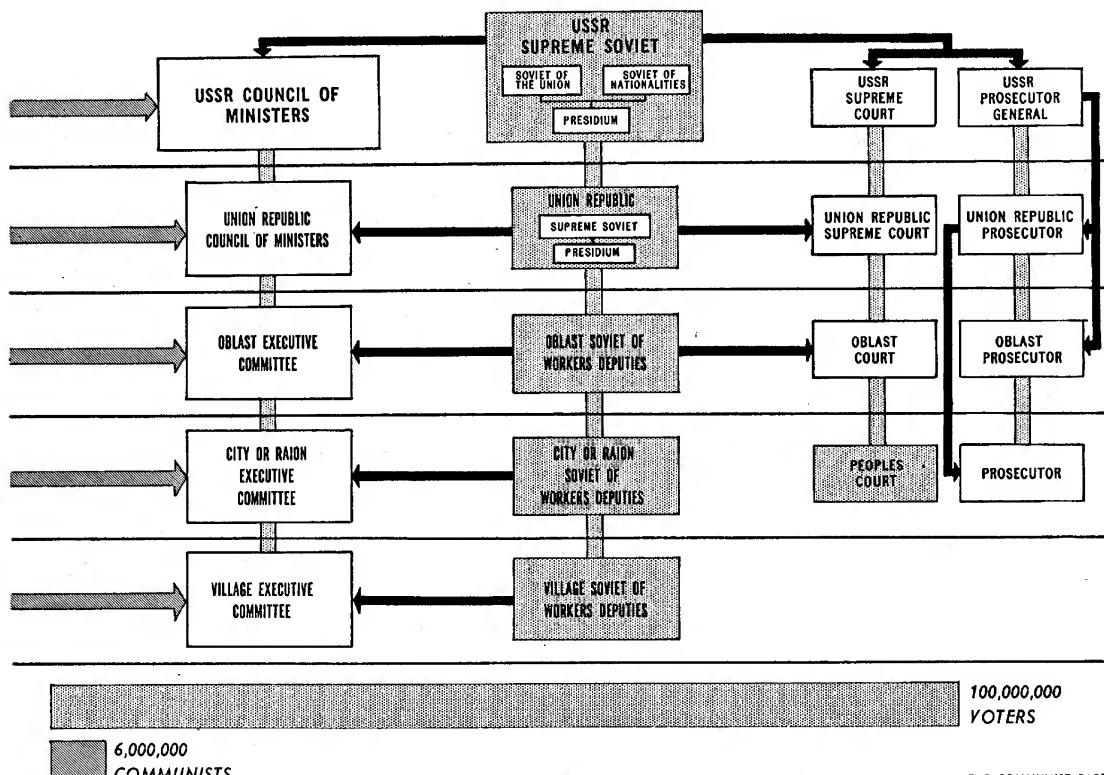
who anticipated the early disappearance of the Soviet State or the distribution of products according to need, regarded in fundamental communist theory as marks of the communist society of the future.

On the international front a basic Marxist doctrine emphasized the inevitability of class struggle within capitalist states and between capitalist and proletarian states. This doctrine did not exclude the possibility of a *rapprochement* between the Soviet State and individual groups of capitalist states, a possibility attributed chiefly to the existence of divisions among the "bourgeois" powers. At certain periods the Soviet leaders have emphasized the gulf between the bourgeois and socialist worlds; at other periods they have laid stress on the community of interest between the Soviet Union and "progressive" bourgeois powers. Since the end of World War II the trend has been toward the former view.

(2) One-party dictatorship

The dominant force in the Soviet State is the All-Union Communist Party, which directs all governmental and public activities (FIGURE X-3). The dictatorship of the proletariat envisaged by Marx and Engels boiled down to the dictatorship of one party, a party forged by Lenin and Stalin into a disciplined instrument of great maneuverability. After 1921 no party except the Communist Party functioned in the USSR, and after 1930 no group within the Communist Party was able to advance a program in opposition to the Stalin program. Although distinctions are maintained between Party and state apparatus, there is no doubt about the supremacy of the Party organs.

The tendency to place the leading Party personalities in the highest state positions has been prominent ever since the launching of the First Five-Year Plan. This tendency was especially marked during the recent war, when



Stalin formally assumed the highest administrative post as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. Previously, Stalin as a rule had operated through Party rather than governmental channels.

For purposes of elections non-Party people are allied with the Communist candidates in a "bloc." Since the program of the non-Party candidates is completely indistinguishable from that of the Party, voters are not enabled to choose between alternative platforms. One motive for the prominence given non-Communist candidates was the desire of the Soviet leaders to have the non-Party masses identify themselves with the regime. The non-Party element associated with the Party candidates in the elections and other mass campaigns was designed as a means to facilitate this identification.

(3) Federal elements

The Soviet State assumed a federal form both in its most important unit, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a whole. At its inception in 1922 the USSR was composed of four constituent Republics. The number of constituent (or Union) Republics has since increased to 16 (FIGURE X-5). The increase was achieved by the grant of republic status to Central Asian and Caucasian peoples, and by the incorporation in 1940 of states and parts of states along the European borders of the Soviet Union.

The federal form was adopted in order to take account of the existence of nationality groups with distinct languages and cultures, rather than to promote geographical decentralization. A Soviet formula specified that minority groups should have a structure "national in form, socialist in content." Under this formula localized patterns of language and culture were permitted as long as the dominant economic, political, and ideological standards

were not challenged. Despite the constitutional guarantee of the right of Union Republics to secede from the Union, any tendencies toward separation were ruthlessly suppressed by Union authorities.

Soviet ideology in the past has viewed as twin evils evidences of "great-power chauvinism" (meaning Great Russian dominance) and of "bourgeois nationalism" (which has been most troublesome in the Ukraine). In recent years, however, there has been a tendency to accord more recognition to the Russian element in the Soviet State, a tendency accentuated during the war.

The administration of the Soviet State is highly centralized. Structurally, functions are classified according to their degree of centralization. Administration of basic industries, transportation, and communications was placed on the most centralized basis. Light industry, trade, agriculture, and "political" activities were less centralized, and cultural and welfare activities are the least centralized of all. While these distinctions have their importance, sufficient centralized control is maintained by Party machinery even in the educational field (one of the most decentralized) to insure that local variations do not affect fundamentals.

B. Government of the USSR

(1) Constitutional basis

The basic law describing the Soviet governmental structure is the 1936 Constitution of the USSR, a successor to the RSFSR Constitution of 1918 and the first Soviet Constitution of 1924. As far as the formal structure of government is concerned, the 1936 Constitution (Stalin Constitution) locates the ultimate power in the Soviets (councils) of Working-People's Deputies. The Constitution modified the previous arrangements of higher organs by

providing at the apex of the Soviet system a Supreme Soviet of the USSR, directly elected by the population. The Supreme Soviet is a representative body with more than one thousand members. Since the doctrine of "separation of powers" is not accepted in Soviet theory or practice, the Supreme Soviet combines legislative, executive, and judicial functions. The Supreme Soviet is the only organ empowered to pass laws (*zakony*), but the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers issue enactments which are laws in all but name. The Soviet judiciary is not regarded as an independent branch of the Government, although judges are accorded a limited independence. The courts have no power to declare laws unconstitutional.

The 1936 Constitution introduced a "Bill of Rights and Duties" into Soviet law. The basic rights, which it describes as guaranteed to Soviet citizens, include such civil liberties as freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, and organization, and inviolability of the person, home, and correspondence. Equalitarian provisions prohibit discrimination against Soviet citizens on grounds of sex, race, or nationality. Cultural and economic rights include the right to education, employment, rest and leisure, and maintenance in old age and infirmity. However, these constitutional guarantees have not led to any relaxation of the one-party system nor to any lessening of police surveillance. Soviet authorities have manifested no disposition to allow the characteristic institutions of Western democracy to take root in the Soviet Union.

(2) Supreme organs of power

(a) *Supreme Soviet*.—Elected by popular vote, the Supreme Soviet is constitutionally the highest organ in the USSR. It consists of two chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—which are regarded as equal in authority (FIGURE X-3). The Soviet of the Union is composed of over 600 representatives, chosen on a population basis, one for each 300,000 inhabitants. The Soviet of Nationalities consists of over 700 representatives, apportioned among the national units: 25 for each Union Republic, 11 for each Autonomous Republic, five for each Autonomous Region, and one for each National District. Semiannual sessions of the Supreme Soviet are required by the Constitution. The two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet always meet at the same time in separate or joint sessions.

Two elections for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have been held: on December 12, 1937 and February 10, 1946. These elections had similar features. The electorate includes practically all citizens of 18 years and older. For the second election the qualifying age for candidates was raised from 18 to 23. Before the election all but one of the possible candidates in each electoral district were eliminated after some discussion. The process of securing a consensus upon agreed candidates was undoubtedly engineered behind the scenes by Party groups. It was possible to vote against the single candidate or to spoil ballots, but few voters availed themselves of these opportunities. Consequently, voting percentages of close to 100 percent were reported to have been cast for the "Communist and non-Party bloc," although in the 1946 election (the first in which they took part) the Baltic Republics lagged a slight distance behind. A majority of the candidates were Party members.

Since Soviet elections do not involve any significant choices, they offer little information on opinion trends to the Soviet leaders. However, the leaders can utilize the nomination process and the campaign before the elections

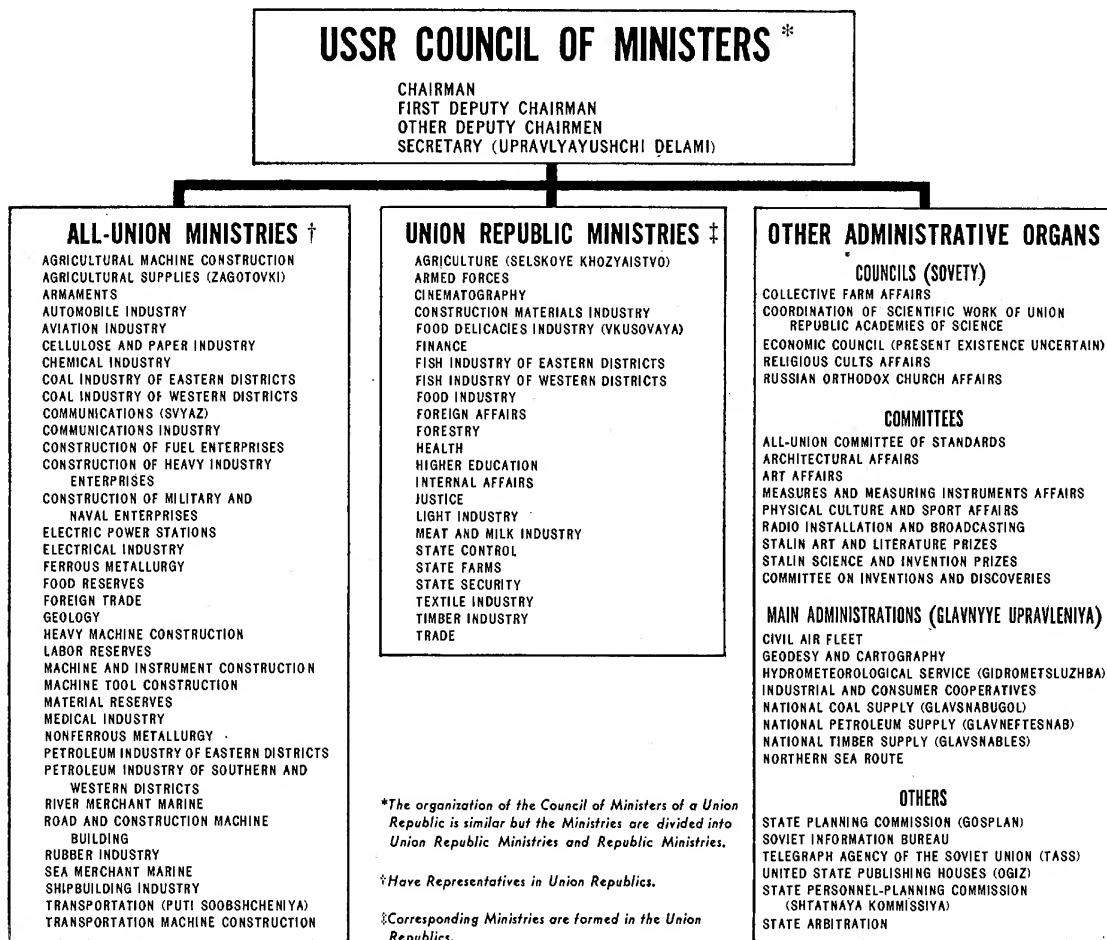
as a means of checking on morale and public opinion. One reason for the holding of elections is that they present an occasion for great campaigns to indoctrinate the public in the virtues of the regime. Also, the results are intended to fortify the impression abroad of a people completely united in support of the Soviet Government.

In its sessions the Supreme Soviet has passed constitutional amendments (which require a two-thirds vote) and various important laws, such as the annual budget law and the Fourth Five-Year Plan. These laws have not undergone substantial change in the course of the Supreme Soviet deliberations and have been adopted unanimously. Each of the chambers uses a number of commissions, such as a budget commission, a foreign affairs commission (which has not been prominent), and a commission on legislative proposals. The latter has not been active, but a recent statute anticipates that it will work more or less continuously between sessions on projected laws, especially on the various Soviet codes of law now undergoing revision.

Constitutionally, the powers of the Supreme Soviet are defined in two ways. Certain powers are specifically delegated to the Supreme Soviet: these include the power to legislate, a broad investigatory power, and an appointive or elective power with regard to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, Supreme Court, and Procurator General. In addition, the Supreme Soviet inherits all powers constitutionally within the province of USSR authorities which are not assigned to a subsidiary organ such as the Presidium or Council of Ministers. In practice the sessions of the Supreme Soviet last only a few days and have been characterized by a cut-and-dried execution of its assigned role. Meetings of the Supreme Soviet do not serve as an occasion for a general presentation of the work of the Government as a whole, such as formerly characterized legislative sessions, but reports on individual topics and on the work of individual departments are frequently presented.

(b) *Presidium of the Supreme Soviet*.—The Presidium is a group of 32 members elected by and responsible to the Supreme Soviet. It is a successor to the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, which until 1937 performed similar functions. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is the collective president of the Soviet Union, assuming, usually through its Chairman, the position of formal head of the state. In addition to the Chairman there are 16 Deputy Chairmen, one for each of the Union Republics. The Presidium thus serves as a device for drawing together the geographical units forming the Union, because the Deputy Chairmen are also important officials of the Union Republics (Chairmen of the Presidiums of the respective Supreme Soviets).

The Constitution vests a number of honorific and policy functions in the Presidium. Its more formal powers concern honors, citizenship, amnesties, reception of foreign representatives, and ratification or denunciation of treaties. Emergency powers are vested in the Presidium to institute martial law, order mobilization, and declare war. Ministers and high military leaders come under the Presidium's power of appointment. Perhaps the most important function of the Presidium derives from its power to interpret the Constitution and other laws. Specifically, it is empowered to rule on the validity of acts of the Councils of Ministers of the USSR and of the Union Republics. Its power over cabinets of the Union Republics is an important factor in the federal system. The Presidium does not seem to exercise a continuous coordinating function



BASIC SOURCES: CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR AND AMENDMENTS, AND SOVIET PRESS
FIGURE X - 4. Organization of the USSR Council of Ministers.

in regard to Soviet administrative agencies. It does, however, formally install new ministries and central agencies, as well as their chiefs. Although its work is theoretically subject to review by the Supreme Soviet, not all Presidium edicts require ratification by the Supreme Soviet. Edicts which require confirmation include those which alter the system of Autonomous Republics, *krais*, and *oblasts*; those which alter the framework of government departments; those providing for the appointment or removal of ministers; and those affecting citizenship and certain other laws.

(3) Central administrative agencies

(a) *Council of Ministers and other coordinating organs*.—The Council of Ministers of the USSR, a group of nearly 60 department heads, is the chief coordinating organ for the administrative branch of the Soviet Government. It is responsible to the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium, and has the power to issue decisions and ordinances (*postanovleniya* and *rasporyazheniya*) binding throughout the Union. Although the Stalin Constitution deprived the Council of the power to issue laws (*zakony*), the Council has continued to pass enactments which have the force of law. In 1940, for example, the Council introduced tuition fees for higher education, an action which in 1947 necessitated a constitutional amendment.

The redesignation of the Council of People's Commissars in 1946 as the Council of Ministers represented a

reversion to pre-Bolshevik terminology. This change was a formal recognition of the emergence of a stable and powerful bureaucratic machinery, far removed from the primitive Bolshevik conception of self-government.

The closeness of the Party to the state organs is illustrated in the joint enactments issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers. Since 1930 the most important policy decisions have been handed down through this dual channel.

In the central Government the Council of Ministers is at the dividing line between lower executive organs (ministries and their agencies), which operate on the basis of single-person rule, and higher organs such as the Supreme Soviet, Presidium, and Council of Ministers, which operate on the "collegial" principle, i.e., by majority rule. The significance of this distinction is lessened, of course, by the influence of Party initiative on both legislation and administration.

In addition to the Council of Ministers, the Soviet administrators have found that specialized coordinating agencies were necessary. The Council of Labor and Defense acted in this capacity under the Union Constitution of 1924. In 1937 the Economic Council of the Council of People's Commissars emerged as a subsidiary coordinating organ. As the number of commissariats increased rapidly in the late 1930's and the Council of People's Commissars became more unwieldy, the Economic Council

increased in importance. It was split in 1940 into six specialized councils—for defense industry, fuel and electricity, metallurgy and chemistry, machine building, consumers' goods, and agriculture (FIGURE X-4). These councils have not been prominent recently, and they may have been abolished. It is probable that similar coordinating functions over areas of government activity are now performed through the offices of the Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers. The number of these Deputy Chairmen has increased to 10, of whom only three have individual ministerial responsibility, in the very important areas of foreign affairs, foreign trade, and defense. It is significant that the Chairman and almost all of the Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers are members of the *Politburo* of the Party. In 1946 a unique type of coordinating organ, the Council for Collective Farm Affairs, was founded in the field of agriculture on a semi-representative basis.

The working of the Soviet economy is bound up with planning. One of the most important government agencies, therefore, is the State Planning Commission (*Gosplan*). Preliminary planning lies within the scope of the specialized departments and the various regions, but the coordination and elaboration of these plans into the ambitious Five-Year Plan is the business of *Gosplan*. Since these plans eventually receive legal force by their incorporation into legislation, failure to achieve the announced goals becomes a matter of criminal jurisprudence. *Gosplan* has, in addition to a large staff devoted to the working out of plans, a staff to check on plan fulfillment. For this purpose it sends "commissioners" to various regional governmental bodies, the commissioners remaining free of any local control.

(b) *Ministries and other administrative agencies.*—In contrast to the 10 People's Commissariats which existed in the Soviet Government of 1923, the government operated through almost 60 ministries in 1947 (FIGURE X-4). The increase is attributable to two factors. The growth of industry involved a multiplication of the units subject to state administration. Simultaneously, the administrative sphere assigned to individual ministries was narrowed. A restricted area of responsibility was entrusted to each Minister in a production organization so as to allow the Minister to develop more competence and to assume more personal responsibility in his special field. The change was especially marked following the seventeenth Party Congress (1934), which condemned "functionalism" in organization and advanced the "production-territorial" principle. Under "functionalism" there was a tendency to split up control of a factory or other enterprise among various sections devoted to planning, procurement of materials, supply, personnel, supervision, finance, technical standards, and other "functions." This organization was paralleled in the government departments. The line of control, which often by-passed the nominal chiefs, went from the planning unit of the government department, for example, through the planning organs of the trust to the planning unit of the factory or even the shop. A result of this system was that the director of a factory or the head of a higher unit merely coordinated the activities of these specialized units. With the abolition of functionalism, the factories, trusts, and Main Administrations were treated as units, under the central control of their directors or chiefs. Specialized sections were responsible only to the chief and not to the comparable section of the superior government agency. The grouping together of enterprises engaged in the same type of production—e.g., linen factories or coal mines—represented organization

according to the "production" principles. These groups were divided by regions, so that the coal mines of the Don basin were in one organization and those of Karaganda in another. This represented organization according to the "territorial" principle.

The principle of single-person control (*yedinonachaliye*) has been applied down the line from the ministries in Moscow to the individual production units. The "collegiums" (groups of top departmental administrators) were abolished in 1934 but reestablished in 1938, without the constitutional status that they had formerly possessed. They exist at the present time, but are regarded as advisory rather than policy-making organs.

The principle of federalism determines the basic classification of USSR Ministries into "All-Union" and "Union Republic." The former are the more centralized, operating through directly subordinate units over the whole Union. The All-Union Ministries have "commissioners" (*upolnomochennyye*) to the governments of the Union Republics. These commissioners serve as supervisors of activities in the particular regions, and also guide Republic activities toward fulfillment of the needs of the All-Union Ministry. The Union Republic Ministries of the USSR operate for the most part through Ministries of the Republics, almost all of which bear the same name as the USSR Ministries. This system is designed to allow accommodation to local peculiarities. In addition to these activities conducted on a semidecentralized basis, the Union Republic Ministries of the USSR conduct certain activities on an All-Union basis, i.e., through directly subordinate organs. According to the Constitution, only enterprises specifically approved by the Supreme Soviet are supposed to be operated on an All-Union basis.

Important shifts have occurred in the allocation of functions between All-Union and Union Republic organs. The most important of these shifts was the constitutional reform of 1944 transferring the conduct and administration of foreign affairs and defense from an All-Union to a Union Republic basis. The ultimate consequences of this change are still not clear. The present limited appearance of several Soviet Republics in international negotiations may foreshadow greater activity of the Republics in foreign affairs. In Soviet theory the Union Republics are sovereign states, and Soviet leaders may strive for world recognition of these states as sovereign. The final result in regard to the Soviet armed forces may be the development of individual armies in the constituent Soviet Republics. Basically, however, the power of integration and ultimate control in the fields of defense and foreign affairs is likely to remain with the central bodies of the USSR for a long time to come.

The basic pattern of distribution of functions is now clear. Industry (except the production of consumers' goods), transportation, communications, and construction are administered on an All-Union basis. Foreign trade, based on state monopoly, is All-Union, as is the collection of agricultural products. On the other hand, light industry (primarily consumers' goods), farming, and retail trade are handled on a Union Republic basis. Most of the more strictly "political" functions are also on a Union Republic basis, e.g., foreign affairs, armed forces, state security, internal affairs, finance, state control (audit and check on governmental agencies), and justice. The cultural and welfare activities of the USSR are organized on a Union Republic basis as regards higher education, cinema, art, health, and physical culture.

Those governmental functions for which there is no co-ordinating center in the Soviet Government are left to

Republic Ministries; these are described in section 104, C. (3).

The USSR ministries, separated into "All-Union" and "Union Republic," and the "Other Administrative Organs" are shown in FIGURE X-4.

C. Governments of the Union and Autonomous Republics

(1) Constitutional basis

The 16 constituent Republics of the USSR have similar state structures, reminiscent of the USSR structure. In Soviet theory the Union Republics are sovereign states. In practice their autonomy is highly restricted, since decisions on most important questions are USSR decisions. The principal features of Republican government are outlined in the Soviet Constitution of 1936. This outline is filled in by Republican constitutions; these date from 1937-1938, except for those of the five republics added in 1940. Each constitution provides for a Supreme Soviet, Presidium, and Council of Ministers. The Supreme Soviets of the Republics are unicameral, with representation on a population basis. Even the RSFSR, which has the greatest number of minor nationalities, has no nationalities chamber in its legislative body. Each Union Republic has its own Supreme Court. The essentials of the "Bill of Rights and Duties" of the Soviet Constitution are reproduced in Republican constitutions, with some changes in phraseology.

(2) Organization of republic governments

(a) *Supreme Soviets*.—The Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics are directly elected by the population in secret balloting (FIGURE X-3). The elections, held in June 1938 and February 1947, resulted in the usual near-unanimous victory for the "bloc of Communist and non-Party candidates," which had no rivals. The proportion of representatives to population varies widely among the Republics: In the RSFSR there is one representative for each 150,000 people; in the Armenian SSR and other small Republics there is one for each 5,000 people. The size of the Supreme Soviet varies, in spite of the compensation introduced by the differing ratios. There are less than 300 members in the Armenian Supreme Soviet, over 700 in the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR. A four-year term of authority is fixed constitutionally for the Supreme Soviets, but this term was exceeded in the case of the Supreme Soviets elected in 1938.

The occasional sessions of Supreme Soviets of the Republics have been brief and routine. The members' time is absorbed for the most part by formalities such as listening to reports of commissions and voting on constitutional changes. Deputies sometimes comment critically on the work of certain government departments, but it is impossible to determine the extent to which this criticism is spontaneous.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic includes a Chairman, who is the titular head of the government, several Deputy Chairmen, and members, the total ranging between 10 and 40. Autonomous Republics are represented on the Presidium of the Union Republic: the Chairman of the Presidium of an Autonomous Republic is a Deputy Chairman of the Union Republic's Presidium.

The Presidium of a Republican Supreme Soviet has powers on the Republic Level comparable to the powers of the Presidium of the USSR: it appoints ministers, effects organizational changes, and issues interpretations of Republic laws.

The Council of Ministers of each Republic is a group of about 30 department heads, the top administrative body of the Republic. It has a Chairman and several Deputy Chairmen. Although a coordinating organ, like the Union Council of Ministers, the Republic Council of Ministers exercises this function chiefly in relation to administrative sphères in which no USSR center exists. The Council of Ministers has the power to issue decisions and ordinances but not laws. It may review enactments passed by the cabinets of Autonomous Republics. The meetings of the Council, which occur frequently, are devoted to both Republic and local affairs, with much attention to general education, the most important function administered from the Republic level.

(b) *Ministries and agencies*.—The administrative agencies of the Republics follow USSR models. They are grouped on a federal principle into Union Republic and Republic Ministries. The former have a counterpart on the USSR level; the latter do not. For Union Republic Ministries of the constituent Republics there is a "dual subordination," which makes them responsible vertically to the USSR Ministry in the given field and horizontally to the Council of Ministers of the Republic. Theoretically the Ministry could be torn between regional and national policy, but practically the structure of Soviet federalism is so tight that such conflicts rarely become serious.

The Union Republic Ministries listed are common to most of the Union Republics; individual variations are noted.

Agriculture

Armed Forces (lacking in RSFSR and possibly other Republics)

Construction Materials Industry

Finance

Fish Industry

Food Delicacies Industry

Food Industry

Foreign Affairs (lacking in RSFSR)

Forestry

Health

Higher Education (lacking in RSFSR and other Republics?)

Internal Affairs (lacking in RSFSR)

Justice

Light Industry

Meat and Dairy Industry

Reclamation (in White Russian SSR only)

State Control

State Farms (lacking in some Republics)

State Security (lacking in RSFSR)

Textile Industry

Timber Industry

Trade

The following Republic Ministries are common to all Republics:

Communal Economy

Local Industry

Education

Motor Transport

Local Fuel Industry

Social Security

(3) Union Republics of European USSR

(FIGURES X-5 and X-6)

(a) *RSFSR*.—The RSFSR occupies a unique position among the Union Republics. It was the first Soviet Republic to be founded, and even today it overshadows the other Republics in population, area, and degree of cultural and economic advancement. Furthermore, the RSFSR includes in its structure most of the minority peoples of the Union except for those granted status as Union Republics.

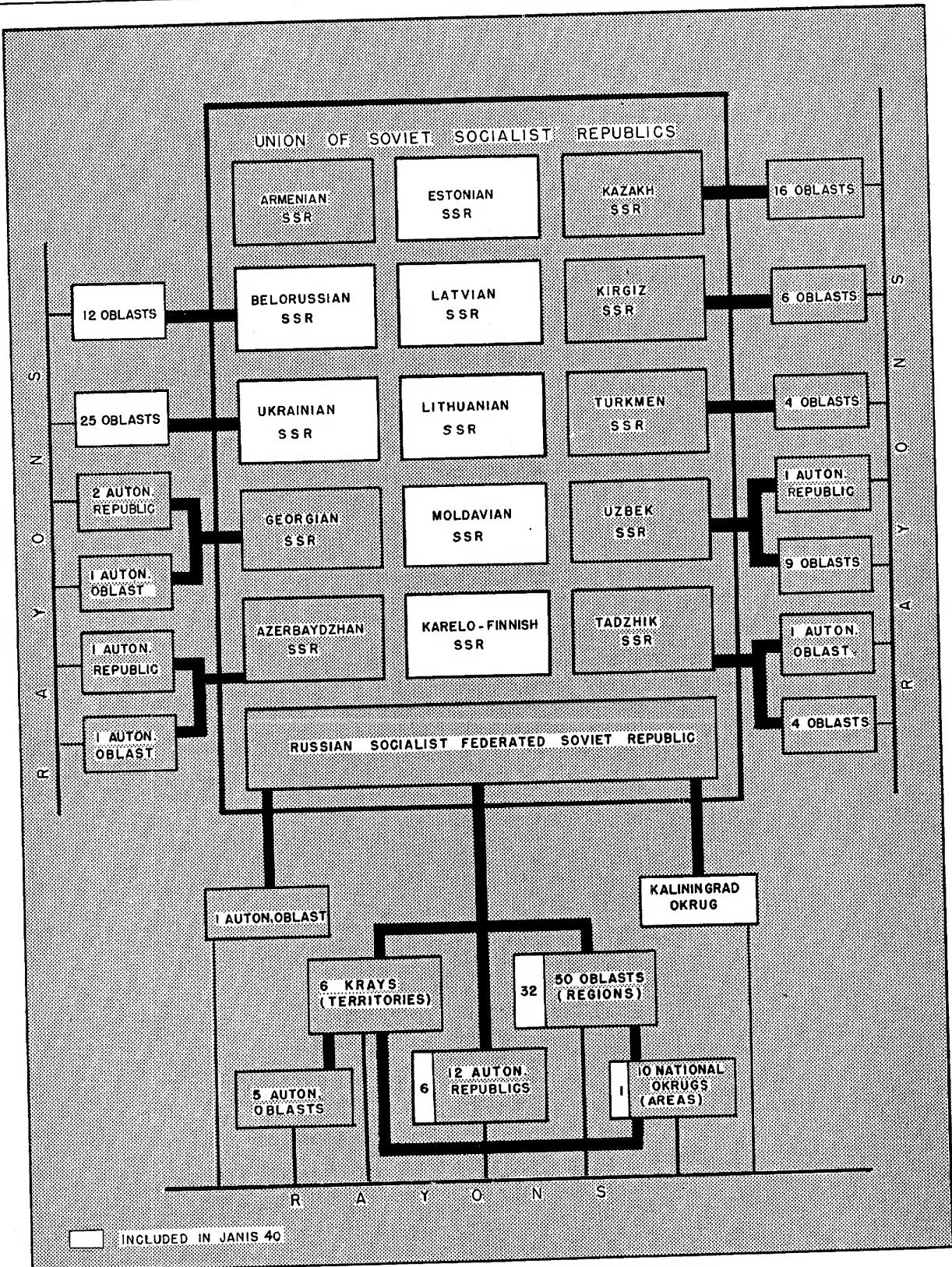


FIGURE X - 5. Chart of administrative divisions of the USSR.

~~Confidential~~ Original

~~Confidential~~

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

Page X-27

The RSFSR is called a "federated" Republic because of the presence of these many nationalities, which are granted a special status varying according to their importance and level of culture. It has within its border 12 Autonomous Republics, 5 Autonomous Oblasts, and 10 National Districts. Of these subdivisions, six Autonomous Republics and one National District lie within European USSR.

The Autonomous Republics of European RSFSR with their dates of formation are as follows:

Chuvash (April 21, 1925) Mordovian (December 20, 1934)
 Komi (December 5, 1936) Tatar (May 27, 1920)
 Mari (December 5, 1936) Udmurt (December 28, 1934)

The only National District of European RSFSR is the Nenetskiy Natsional'nyy Okrug.

Most people in the RSFSR live outside of these special autonomous units and are governed through the customary local organs.

The structure of the RSFSR Government at the highest levels is only slightly modified by federal influences. The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR has no apparatus for special representation of the "autonomous" groups. The Presidium, on the other hand, distributes its Deputy Chairmen among the Autonomous Republics. The Ministries of the RSFSR function differently in autonomous areas and in nonautonomous areas. In Autonomous Republics the RSFSR Ministries operate through the Ministries of the Autonomous Republics, on a basis comparable to the relationship between the Union Republic Ministries of the USSR and the corresponding Ministries of the Union Republics. All Ministries of the Autonomous Republics operate under "dual subordination," that is, they are responsible jointly to the cabinet of the Autonomous Republic and to the Ministry of the RSFSR. Since 1936 there has been no ministry on the Autonomous Republic level that corresponds in status to the Republic Ministries of the Union Republics. Local conditions sometimes do not warrant the establishment of certain ministries in the Autonomous Republics, for example, ministries controlling industry or state farms.

(b) *Ukrainian SSR and White Russian SSR*.—The Ukrainian SSR and White Russian SSR were charter members of the USSR. Each possesses the usual Soviet institutions. Structurally the organization of these Republics is less complicated than that of the RSFSR because neither possesses any autonomous units. Each government contains agencies peculiar to the locality.

(c) *Other western border republics*.—Five Union Republics were added to the USSR in 1940. These were created as a result of the absorption of the Baltic States, Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, and part of Finland.

The Karelo-Finnish SSR was created in March 1940 after the end of the Russo-Finnish War of 1939-40. A Karelian Autonomous Republic embracing part of the territory had existed previously under the RSFSR. On the basis of this Autonomous Republic, with the addition of the land and people acquired from Finland, the Karelo-Finnish SSR was formed.

The three Baltic Republics (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) became constituent Republics of the USSR in August 1940. The governments followed in structure the usual Soviet model, except that the traditional local subdivisions were retained.

The Moldavian SSR was founded in August 1940, following cession of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina to the USSR by Rumania. The Republic was based on a union of the newly acquired territory with the territory

of the Moldavian Autonomous Republic, which had existed since 1924 under the Ukrainian SSR.

(4) Autonomous Republics

Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics, which exist within four Union Republics, are governed through a state structure essentially similar to that of the Soviet Union and of the Union Republics. The basic structure of Autonomous Republics is outlined in the Constitutions of the USSR and the Union Republics. The Supreme Soviet is the highest organ. It is a unicameral legislative body elected for a four-year term. Elections have been held simultaneously with those of Union Republics. The responsible executive organ of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is a Presidium, which meets regularly and is presided over by a chairman, who is the titular leader of the Republic. A Council of Ministers is subordinate to the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium. This Council directs the administration of the Republic's affairs. On it are represented the various Ministries of the Autonomous Republic. These Ministries are not the same in all Republics, but include as a rule agencies for agriculture, finance, trade, internal affairs, state security, state control, justice, health, education, local industry, communal economy, social security, and other matters. Certain industrial ministries may be formed if the Republic has such industries within its control. All of the Ministries of Autonomous Republics operate under "dual subordination," i.e., they are responsible to both the Autonomous and Union Republic governments.

D. Local governments

(1) Basic structure

Local government in the USSR possesses more uniformity than local government in the important Western states, yet presents a varied and intricate picture. The basic areas and organs of local government are prescribed in the Soviet Constitution. Elected soviets (councils) constitute the highest organs at all levels of local government. Although a two-year term of office is specified, the last elections for local soviets were held in December 1939. As responsible executive agencies for these soviets, there are elected officers and, except in the smallest units of rural government, executive committees (*ispolnitelny komitet*, abbreviated as *ispolkom*). These executive committees have a number of specialized divisions which are responsible for particular spheres of government activity. The executive committees of the larger units have associated with them "administrations" (*upravleniye*) formed by the All-Union Ministries and the security organs. These are not, however, responsible in any way to the local government.

The regional structure of local government is fixed constitutionally, the *krais* (territories) and *oblasts* (regions) being listed in the Soviet Constitution and smaller units down to *raions* (districts) being listed in some Republic constitutions. *Raiions* are not listed for the RSFSR and other Republics where there are great numbers of *raions*. Changes in the status of these enumerated subdivisions require constitutional amendments.

(2) Regional governments

(a) *Krais and oblasts*.—*Krais* and *oblasts* are the largest governmental units below the Union Republic level. Administratively their position is comparable to that of Autonomous Republics, although they lack the characteristic features of the latter. *Krais*, which exist only in the RSFSR, are outside the area under consideration. They are vast and sparsely settled border areas.

Original

~~Confidential~~

The *oblast* government is headed by an *oblast* Soviet of Workers' Deputies, which is supposed to meet four times a year. The executive committee functions through departments (*otdel*) for such activities as agriculture, finance, trade, health, education, local industry, communal economy, social maintenance, highways, art, and personnel. In addition there are a "general" department, a planning commission, and sometimes industrial and state-farm departments. These various departments are local organs responsible to the local soviet and executive committee and also responsible to the corresponding Ministry of the Republic. *Oblast*s possess, in addition to the departments mentioned above, "administrations" established by certain All-Union Ministries and by the security organs of the republic.

Oblast governments are not primarily operating units of administration. They concentrate their attention upon the planning and general supervision of governmental activities within the borders of the region, and especially upon planning and supervising the activities of *raion* executive committees.

(b) *National okrugs*.—*Okrugs*, once an important link between *oblasts* and *raions* in the Soviet structure of local government, are now almost extinct except for 10 national *okrugs*, all in the RSFSR and all subordinated either to *krais* or to *oblasts*. There is only one *okrug* in European USSR. Each national *okrug* sends one representative to the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR. The national *okrug* has the characteristic government by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and executive Committees.

(3) District (*raion*) governments

Raiions exist in all Republics and are the most important operating units of Soviet local government. There are about 5,000 *raions* of all types. In 1930 the *raions* inherited the functions, resources, and personnel of the *okrugs* when most of the latter were eliminated. Except for cities, which are directly subordinate to *oblast* or Republic governments, the *raions* constitute the basic administrative units for local functions in such fields as agriculture, finance, trade, health, roads, and social welfare.

The *raion* Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the highest district organs, are supposed to meet at least six times a year. Each *raion* soviet elects an executive committee (*ratispolkom*) which forms departments to perform the various functions assigned to district administration.

(4) Cities and towns

The largest cities are subordinated directly to the Republic governments. Smaller cities and towns are subordinated to *oblasts* or *raions*. Sometimes the rural environs of a town are joined with the urban area in a single administrative unit. This fusion offers a means by which the city institutions can serve the surrounding population. It also brings the rural population under the tutelage of the "more advanced" city population.

Cities and towns have the usual elected soviets with elected chairman and deputies. Administrative management is vested in the executive committee (*gorispolkom*). This operates through functional departments for finance, public utilities, trade, health, and other activities carried on by city and town governments.

(5) Smallest units

The smallest unit of local government is the village soviet (*selsoviet*). Over 50,000 village soviets are in existence. The smaller village soviets have no executive committee and elect a chairman and a few officials to per-

form the very limited governmental functions. Consequently there are no functional departments at the *selsoviet* level. At one time the village Soviets of Workers' Deputies managed rural schools and collected taxes and insurance payments from the rural population. Because of unsatisfactory work they were relieved of these functions. They are now more concerned with "activation" of the rural population in support of various governmental programs than with administrative work.

105. POLITICAL FACTORS

A. Introduction

The Soviet political system is characterized by the unique role played by the one and only political party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party dominates all political affairs and all organized activity in schools, trade-unions, productive enterprises, military units, and all public organizations (FIGURE X-3). The Soviet Constitution of 1936 regularized a situation that already existed when it described the Party as "the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state." The Party maintains its control of the Government and of the economy through the guidance of state organs and assignment of Party members to key positions.

The all-pervading activity of the Communist Party prevents the formation of independent pressure groups. There are, no doubt, interest groups (based on sectional, religious, class, occupation, and nationality ties), which in unorganized ways can influence state policy. Such interest groups, however, have never been able to offer serious rivalry to the Party.

Party supremacy over government organs is an acknowledged fact. Party rules provide for it. It is illustrated by Stalin's career, which includes years of rule exclusively through Party organs. Molotov, when head of the government, once said explicitly that the government would take no step on any important matter without first securing the advice of the Party's Central Committee, and especially of "Comrade Stalin."

The domination of the government by the Party has not involved a breaking down of the distinction between the two organizations. They exist as parallel hierarchies, with much interpenetration at all levels.

B. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union

(1) Ideology

The Communist Party is based on Marxian philosophy as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin. In charting their way, Soviet leaders have drawn on the maxims of *Realpolitik* to implement tactics, but their basic political assumptions have, as a rule, been Marxist.

The important dogmas of Marxism accepted in current Soviet thinking may be stated in summary form:

- 1) The basic element in society is the material organization of the society, the mode of production incorporated in the life of a given people. Production involves two elements: the *production forces*, inanimate and animate (the means of production plus the labor force, people equipped with certain techniques and habits of labor); and the *relationships of production* (the relationships of people in terms of the possession of the means of production). The changes in the productive forces constitute the primary moving force in social change, although the changes in relationships of production influence the development of productive forces. The conflict between newly arising productive forces and outmoded productive relationships, expressed in class-struggle, leads eventually to the substitution of a new order

for the old. This substitution can be accomplished only through a revolutionary overthrow of the old order.

- 2) Capitalism represents the highest form of class society. Although capitalism was a progressive form of society, when compared to feudalism, it now hinders the further development of society. As capitalism develops, the concentration of capital in the hands of a few monopolists becomes more extreme, and the impoverishment of the mass of the working population becomes more marked. The final stage of capitalism is imperialism, characterized by monopoly, fusion of finance with industrial capital, the export of capital (foreign investments), international cartelization, and the final division of the world among capitalist powers. Because of the internal crises into which capitalism is periodically thrust, the various capitalist powers seek relief abroad, through expansion of foreign markets, etc. The unequal development of capitalism in the various countries leads to imperialist wars, of which World Wars I and II are the examples par excellence. The weakening of capitalism as a result of war makes possible a break in the capitalist united front and the victory of the proletariat, usually in the country constituting the weakest capitalist link.
- 3) The transition from capitalist to proletarian rule can be accomplished only by violent revolution. The large-scale industry promoted by capitalism serves as the economic basis for assembling the vanguard of the toilers into labor unions and political parties. Through these the class-conscious workers can organize the revolution. Led by the Communists, the workers are driven inevitably to overthrow and destroy the bourgeois state and its apparatus (police, army, bureaucracy), and to institute a new state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to survive, the proletariat must win over as allies the working farmers, particularly in an agricultural country. The proletarian dictatorship will take the form of "soviet of working people's deputies," i.e., councils organized on a class basis, rather than the form of a parliament organized on the basis of popular representation. Eventually this proletarian dictatorship will give way to a classless society, but until the liquidation of capitalist encirclement the state will remain, even though the proletarian society is able to progress from the lower socialist form to the higher communist form of organization.
- 4) The socialist state may be able to survive even if it remains alone in a capitalist world. The period of coexistence will probably be long, and may, for a time, be peaceful. Nevertheless, the period will be characterized by wars, because capitalism (particularly in its present imperialist form) breeds wars. These wars may be capitalist-socialist wars or wars between capitalist states. If the latter, the socialist state may or may not be involved. The security of a socialist state lies in the prevention of any concert of capitalist powers, for such a concert would range the isolated socialist state against the combined capitalist world.
- 5) A long period is required for a socialist state to transform itself into a communist society. Such a transformation will be completed only when certain conditions are achieved: a) The economy produces so abundantly that the distribution system can be based on the needs rather than on the productive contributions of each worker. b) Internally there is no further necessity for the existence of repressive forces (the state apparatus) because the ex-ruling classes have disappeared, there are no more classes, and the population has acquired the habits of socialist living. c) Externally the disappearance of capitalist states has removed the necessity for the existence of armed forces to defend the socialist state. When these conditions are achieved, the proletarian state will wither away and the new, classless society will be the form of human existence.
- 6) The USSR is the prototype of future proletarian states. The Bolshevik discovery that soviets (councils based on a class principle) rather than parliamentary institutions constitute the appropriate form of proletarian rule will ease the way for other peoples who seek to establish a socialist state.
- 7) The Soviet Union has attained "socialism in one country"; the attainment of communism must be projected into a distant future. The Soviet State must not begin to wither away but on the contrary must become ever stronger, because the victories of socialism lead to ever more desperate resistance on the part of threatened capitalist groups.

These dogmas are not necessarily publicized in propaganda at any given time, but they are basic in the thinking of Soviet leaders. Propaganda at home is directed to the activation of the Soviet population in support of the Party programs and policies. It must fill the minds of the Soviet population with the official rationale for every government and Party act. In addition it must take account of the indifference and resistance which the Party line may encounter, because the discrepancy between the stereotype and the reality of Soviet life constantly gives rise to skepticism. Propaganda directed abroad must seek to rationalize Soviet activities in such a way that the Soviet Union appears as the most progressive and democratic of all countries—a country which is struggling for a peaceful world against the machinations of reactionaries and fascists, who are an influential or controlling force in the non-Soviet countries. A primary purpose of this propaganda abroad is to supply the ideological ammunition to the friends of the Soviet Union abroad in their struggle against "reactionary" opponents.

(2) Organization

The Communist Party is organized on a territorial and functional basis in a pyramidal structure. Primary Communist organizations are formed in factories, collective farms, military units, and government offices. These are grouped together in city or *raion* units which are, in turn, combined into *oblast* and *krai* organizations and into Union Republic bodies. (The Union Republic level is omitted in the RSFSR.) The regional and Republican bodies in combination elect the highest organ of the All-Union Communist Party. "Democratic centralism" is the stated principle of Party organization, involving election of Party organs, periodic reports of these organs to the Party organizations, strict Party discipline, subordination of the minority to the majority, and strict obedience by the lower organization to the decisions of higher bodies. In practice the elections and devices for democratic control tend to be mere formalities, while the control exercised by the leading Party organs is very real. The Party rules prohibit Union-wide intra-Party discussion of policy, except under certain carefully defined conditions.

(a) *All-Union meetings*.—In a formal sense the All-Union Congress of the Communist Party is the highest Party authority (FIGURE X-3). The interval between Congresses has lengthened, despite a clause in the Party rules providing for a Congress at least every three years. The last Congress, the eighteenth, was held in 1939. Although at one time Congresses provided an occasion for Party debates on policy, recent ones have lacked this feature. Important changes of policy are, however, sometimes announced at these Congresses.

Between the "triennial" Congresses the Party is supposed to assemble in All-Union Conferences, held yearly except for Congress years. This provision has not been fulfilled, since the last Party Conference, the eighteenth, was held in 1941. The Conference differs from the Congress in several respects besides the prescribed times for their being held. Deputies to the Conference are chosen by a less representative system than that employed in organizing a Congress. The Conference has the power to replace only one-fifth of the membership of the Central Committee, whereas the Congress can elect an entirely new body. The All-Union Conference ranks in authority below both the Congress and the Central Committee of the Party, the latter having to ratify most Conference decisions.

(b) *Party organs*.—The principal organ of the All-Union Communist Party is its Central Committee, which

consists of about 140 leading Party figures, half of whom are full members and half candidates. (The candidates participate in meetings but do not have voting rights.) The Central Committee has fairly regular meetings (*plenums*); according to the Party rules a *plenum* is to be called every four months. These meetings last for several days; the members hear reports on governmental or party problems and make decisions concerning them. Although the proceedings of these meetings are not made public (unlike reports of Congresses and Conferences), decisions and occasional speeches are reported. Party decisions requiring implementation by the masses are, of course, given wide publicity.

Current work of Central Party organs is directed by the Secretariat, a small group of top Party administrators. It was from his post as First or General Secretary of the Party, a position he still holds, that Stalin assumed control over the Party following Lenin's death. The *Orgburo* (Organizational Bureau) is a somewhat larger group charged with general direction of Party organizations. For policy matters the key Party organ is the *Politburo* (Political Bureau), a group of 14 high Party leaders who consider and decide questions of general policy. The fact that the leading branches of administration are represented on the *Politburo* simplifies the process of integrating state and Party activities.

Two larger organs function under the Central Committee of the Party. The Central Auditing Commission checks the efficiency and correctness of operations of the central Party apparatus, including the Secretariat and enterprises (i.e., newspapers and institutes) attached to the Central Committee. A more important Party organ is the Commission of Party Control, a group of about 70 Party representatives which checks on the fulfillment of Party decisions. This agency sends "commissioners" to local Party organs for review of local activities. In co-operation with governmental control agencies, the Commission checks on the fulfillment of Party decisions by government organs.

The Central Committee forms Administrations and Departments to coordinate Party and state activities on certain topics. The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation centralizes control of ideological activities. This work is particularly important because of the Party's intense interest in ideological matters and because there is no governmental organ on the All-Union level which performs a similar function. The Cadres Administration is charged with the distribution of Party workers among various Party and state posts. There are other departments concerned with organizational matters and with military and agricultural affairs.

(c) *Regional and local Party units.*—Below the All-Union level the Party structure follows the geographical breakdown of Republican and local government. The Communist Parties in the Union Republics (with the exception of the RSFSR) and in the *oblasts* are subject to the authority of a Party assembly (Congress or Conference). Party administration is managed by Central Committees (in the Union Republics) and by Committees (in the *oblasts*) which bring together at intervals the Party leaders from the various parts of the area. These Committees establish executive organs of not more than 11 persons and secretariats of four or five, whose appointments must be ratified by the Central Committee of the All-Union Party. City and *raion* Party organizations have a simpler organization. A yearly Party Conference is called for by the Party rules but is not necessarily con-

vened. The responsible executive organs are a city or *raion* Committee, a Bureau, and a Secretariat.

(3) *Leaders (members of the Politburo)*

(a) *Joseph Stalin (Joseph Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili).*—Stalin, "leader" (*vozhd*) of the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union, was born on December 21, 1879 in the Georgian village of Gori. His father was a cobbler and died when Stalin was 11 years of age. Stalin failed to complete his studies at the Tiflis Theological Seminary, which he left in 1899 after having already entered the ranks of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party—a Marxist party in which the Bolshevik and Menshevik groups subsequently formed separate factions. Thereafter he was almost continually engaged in revolutionary activity, and a large part of his time before 1917 was spent in prison, in exile, or in hiding from the police. His first recognition on a national and international scale in the Communist Party came in 1912, when he was appointed a member of the Party Central Committee. He played a prominent part in the events in Petrograd (now Leningrad) that led to the October Revolution in 1917, when the Communist Party seized power, and he became a member of the *Politburo* when it was first organized in May 1917.

Stalin's domination of the Party apparatus dates from his election in 1922 to the position of Secretary General of the Communist Party, a post which gave him power over Party personnel questions. He successfully overcame all opposition within the Communist Party after Lenin died in 1924, sometimes combining with one extreme faction to overcome the other extreme and subsequently reversing his position. After Trotsky's exile to Alma-Ata in 1928, Stalin became undisputed leader of the Communist Party; most of the other prominent old-time Bolsheviks were progressively removed from the Party during the purges of the following decade. Although Stalin then became the real ruler of the state and received credit for the new Constitution of 1936, he abstained from official participation in the constitutional government until the outbreak of war with Germany in June 1941. Following the German invasion, he became Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, Chairman of the State Defense Committee, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (now Council of Ministers), People's Commissar of Defense of the USSR (now Minister of Armed Forces), and a Marshal of the Soviet Union (subsequently promoted to the rank of Generalissimo). After the war the State Defense Committee ceased to exist, and in 1947 Stalin gave up his responsibilities as Minister of Armed Forces of the USSR.

(b) *V. M. Molotov (Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Skryabin).*—Molotov was born in 1890, the son of a shop clerk. He completed technical high school in Kazan and in 1912 attended the School of Economics of the Polytechnical Institute in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) but did not finish the course. In 1906 he joined the Communist Party and held minor Party posts between periods of arrest and exile. He became prominent in the Party after the Revolution and in 1920 was made an alternate member of the Central Committee, rising in the following year to be a full member of the Central Committee and an alternate member of the *Politburo*. He became a full member of the *Politburo* and a member of the Executive Committee of the *Comintern* in 1926. After holding several lesser posts in the constitutional government of the USSR (member of the Presidium of the RSFSR Central Executive Committee, 1927-1929; member of the Presidium of the Central Ex-

~~Confidential~~

ecutive Committee of the USSR after 1929), Molotov became Chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense and of the Council of People's Commissars in 1930. He held the latter post until he was replaced by Stalin in 1941, when he became First Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (now Council of Ministers) and Deputy Chairman of the State Defense Committee. Previously (1939) he had succeeded Maxim Litvinov as People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs (now Minister of Foreign Affairs), a post he still holds. He has represented the USSR at all important international conferences since that time.

(c) *Marshal of the Soviet Union Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov.*—Voroshilov was born in the Ukraine in 1881, the son of a railroad watchman. He did not learn to read and write until the age of 12. He went to work in a locomotive factory when he was 15 years old and became a member of the Communist Party in 1903. After periods of exile and imprisonment, he took part in the February Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd (now Leningrad) and later that year assisted in the formation of the Cheka, the Bolshevik secret police. In 1918 he fought in the Ukraine as commander of the Fifth Ukrainian Army, and commanded the Tenth Army in the defense of Tsaritsyn (Stalingrad). In 1919-1921 he directed the First Cavalry Army in operations against Denikin, Pilsudski, and Wrangel, becoming a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party at that time. When Frunze died in 1925, Voroshilov succeeded him in the posts of People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs and Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council. In the following year he became a full member of the Politburo. In the governmental reorganization of 1934 he became People's Commissar of Defense, retaining that post until he was replaced by Stalin in 1941. In 1940 he was made a Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (now Council of Ministers), a post he still retains; in 1941 he became a member of the State Defense Committee, a post he held until 1944, when he was succeeded by Bulganin. At the outbreak of hostilities with Germany he received an important assignment as chief of the troops on the Northwestern Front, but within three months had shown himself incapable of handling the problems of modern warfare and was given a training assignment. In 1943 he became Commander of Partisan Troops, and on several later occasions he was charged with coordinating operations among various military fronts (army groups). He became the first Chairman of the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission for Hungary, established in 1945. Of late he has apparently ceased to take an active part in the Soviet Government but continues to appear at state functions and to be an intimate of Generalissimo Stalin.

(d) *Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich.*—Born of a Jewish family in 1893 and trained as a tanner, Kaganovich entered the Communist Party in 1911 in Kiev (Kiyev). He was active during the Revolution, and rose in 1922 to the post of chief of the Organization and Instruction Section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In 1923 he became an alternate member and in 1924 a full member of the Central Committee. From 1925 to 1928 he was Secretary General of the Ukrainian Communist Party; in 1926 he became an alternate member of the Politburo and in 1930 a full member. Subsequently he held many other high Party posts and received credit for the construction of the Moscow subway and canal. He has been in charge of the following Commissariats (now Ministries) of the USSR at different times from 1935 to 1947: Transportation, Heavy Industry, Oil Industry, Fuel

Industry, and, most recently, Building Materials Industry. In 1942 he became a member of the State Defense Committee and in 1944 a Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars (now Council of Ministers). In March 1947 he was relieved of all positions in the constitutional government and put in charge of the Ukraine as First Secretary of the Ukrainian Party Central Committee.

(e) *Andrei Andreyevich Andreyev.*—Born of peasant stock near Smolensk in 1895, Andreyev became a factory worker, joined the Communist Party in 1914, and made his main career for many years in the trade-union movement. In 1920 he became a secretary in the All-Russian Central Council of Trade-Unions and from 1922 to 1927 was Chairman of the Central Committee of the Railroad Workers' Union. Meanwhile he became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1920; he was made an alternate member of the Politburo in 1926 and after six years became a full member. He has held several posts as a People's Commissar of the USSR, the latest being that of People's Commissar of Agriculture. In 1939 he became head of the Party Central Committee's Control Commission, which supervises the carrying out of Party directives. In 1946 Andreyev became a Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and headed the new Council for Collective Farm Affairs under the Council of Ministers that was created in the fall of that year. He drew up the Three-Year Plan for agriculture adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in February 1947 and seems now to have become a specialist in agricultural matters.

(f) *Anastas Ivanovich Makoyan.*—Makoyan was born of a family of Armenian workers in Tiflis (now Tbilisi) in 1895 and remained in that general area until 1926. He entered the Communist Party in 1915 and was one of the Communist leaders imprisoned during the British occupation of Baku in 1918-1919. In 1926 he was appointed People's Commissar of Trade. Subsequently he held the posts of People's Commissar of Provisions and of Food Industry, in which capacity he visited the United States in 1936. In 1938 he became People's Commissar (now Minister) of Foreign Trade, a position he has retained to the present time. Long a member of the former Central Executive Committee of the USSR, in 1937 he was made a Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (now Council of Ministers), and in 1942 he was appointed to the State Defense Committee. He seems to have been comparatively inactive in Party organizations but was made an alternate member of the Politburo in 1926 and a full member in 1935.

(g) *Andrei Aleksandrovich Zhdanov.*—Zhdanov was born in 1896, the son of a Ukrainian school inspector. One of the few top Communists with academic training, he attended the Agricultural Academy in Moscow (Moskva) in 1913. Previously active in revolutionary work, he joined the Communist Party in 1915. In 1916 he was drafted into the Russian Army where he engaged in subversive propaganda work. During the early years of the Soviet regime he held minor Party posts in the provinces. In 1925 Zhdanov became an alternate member of the Central Committee, not attaining full membership in that body until five years later. Only in 1934 did he gain an important position in the Party hierarchy. In that year Zhdanov was added to the membership of the Central Committee's Secretariat, which included also Stalin, Kaganovich, and Sergei Mironovich Kirov, the last-named popularly reputed to be Stalin's favorite and vested with control of the USSR's second city, Leningrad. When Kirov was assassinated in December 1934, Stalin entrusted

Zhdanov with the post of First Secretary of the Leningrad City and *Oblast* Party Committees, and Zhdanov has retained his link with that city up to the present time, although he relinquished the actual administrative responsibilities in 1945.

The critical year in Zhdanov's career was 1934. At that time, in addition to succeeding Kirov in Leningrad, he became an alternate member of the *Politburo* and a member of the *Orgburo*. In the following year he was made a member of the Executive Committee of the *Comintern*. In 1938 he became Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union and a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In 1938 and 1939 he was prominent in the organizational affairs of the Communist Party and delivered a major speech at its Eighteenth Congress in 1939. In that year he also became head of the Propaganda and Agitation Administration of the Central Committee.

Zhdanov is reported to have been a strong advocate of the war with Finland in 1939-1940, which was waged chiefly by forces based in Leningrad. Despite the reverses the USSR suffered in that war, Zhdanov remained in good standing with Stalin and recouped his national reputation during the war with Germany. He was the Leningrad boss and Chairman of the Leningrad Military Council during the defense of that city. In 1944 Zhdanov, now a Colonel General, signed the armistice with Finland and became Chief of the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission for that country. His administration in Finland has been considered the most successful of the Soviet administrations in ex-enemy countries.

Zhdanov has in recent years been cast in the role of cultural leader of the Communist Party. He delivered a major speech in Leningrad in August 1946 laying down the Party line in artistic matters. On November 6, 1946, he spoke for the Party on the twenty-ninth anniversary of the October Revolution. Earlier in that year he was elected Chairman of the Soviet of the Union—one of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—but resigned his post in 1947 because of the pressure of other duties. At the present time Zhdanov holds a few positions in the constitutional government and seems to be primarily occupied with the internal affairs of the Communist Party; he is on the Secretariat and the *Orgburo* of the Central Committee.

(h) *Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev*.—Khrushchev was born in 1894 in a mining town near Kursk. In his youth he worked on a farm and then as an iron worker in the Donbass. He joined the Communist Party in 1918 and after fighting in the Civil War became a Party leader in the Ukraine. His opportunity for advancement came in 1929, when he completed a course of studies at the Stalin Industrial Academy in Moscow (Moskva). During the years between 1931 and 1938 he rose in the Party leadership in Moscow, serving as First Secretary of the Moscow City and *Oblast* Party Committees after 1935. In 1934 he became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and in 1938 an alternate member of the *Politburo*. In the latter year he left Moscow to assume charge of the Ukrainian Party organization and in 1939 he became a full member of the *Politburo*. During the war he remained in the Ukraine, serving as a member of the Stalingrad Military Council and in similar posts. Made a Lieutenant General in 1943, he became Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine in the following year. There were reports of maladministration in the Ukrainian Party organization in the years following the liberation of the area, and in 1947 Khrushchev was

replaced as First Secretary of the Ukrainian Party organization by Kaganovich. He remained Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, as it is now called.

(i) *Lavrenti Pavlovich Beriya*.—Beriya was born in 1899, entered the Communist Party in March 1917 and remained a Party worker in the Georgian and Transcaucasian area until the late 1930's. He received a degree in architecture from the Baku Polytechnical Institute in 1919. From 1921 to 1931 he was a leader in the Georgian Cheka (secret police), or GPU as it was later called. In 1931 he became First Secretary of the Georgian Party Central Committee. Suddenly, in December 1938, he succeeded M. Yezhev (subsequently purged) as People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, a position that he retained until 1946. Before that time he had held only minor posts in the central government. In 1939 Beriya became an alternate member of the *Politburo*, attaining full status in 1946. In 1941 he became a member of the State Defense Committee and a Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars (now Council of Ministers), a post he has retained. At the present time he holds no other major post in the constitutional government but is rumored to be in charge of intelligence activities in connection with Soviet research on atomic energy.

(j) *Georgi Maksimilianovich Malenkov*.—Malenkov, who was born in 1901, has had perhaps the most meteoric rise in the Communist Party and also, it would seem, the most recent lapse from grace. Malenkov volunteered for service in the Red Army in 1919 and joined the Communist Party in the following year. After the Civil War he studied at the Moscow (Moskva) Higher Technical School until 1925 and entered upon a career of desk work in the central Party organization. In 1934 he was put in charge of a personnel section in the Central Committee and apparently still directs the corresponding section, now called the Personnel Administration. In 1939 he became both a member and a Secretary of the Central Committee and a member of the *Orgburo*. In 1941 Malenkov was made an alternate member of the *Politburo* and member of the State Defense Committee in charge of industry and transport. Two years later he was put in charge of the Committee for the Restoration of the National Economy in Liberated Areas. Early in 1946 Malenkov became a full member of the *Politburo* and a member of the Party Control Commission. In August he became a Deputy Chairman in the USSR Council of Ministers. In October, however, he was relieved of his duties as a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and it was revealed that a new person had been made a Secretary of the Central Committee. During the election campaign ending in February 1947 it became obvious that Malenkov was no longer a Secretary of the Central Committee and that he was overshadowed in Party propaganda by his seniors on the *Politburo*. It is uncertain whether he remains on the *Orgburo* and the Party Control Commission.

(k) *Nikolai Alekseyevich Voznesenski*.—Voznesenski was born in 1903; his father was an office worker. He received a degree in economics from the Sverdlov Communist University in Moscow (Moskva) in 1924. A member of the Party since 1919, he engaged in Party work in the Donbass for several years. He became the only member of the *Politburo* to hold a doctoral degree, by receiving a doctorate in economics in 1931 from the Institute of Red Professors in Moscow, where he served as an instructor. In 1935 Voznesenski became Chairman of the Leningrad City Planning Commission. Three years later he became head of the USSR State Planning Commission, a post he

held until the beginning of hostilities with Germany. He became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1939 and an alternate member of the *Politburo* two years later. In 1941 he became First Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in charge of the Economic Council, entering the State Defense Committee in the following year. Voznesenski returned to the chairmanship of the State Planning Commission in 1946 and was appointed a Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers at that time. In 1947 he was elevated to full membership in the *Politburo*.

(l) *Nikolai Mikhailovich Shvernik*.—Shvernik is an old Party member, and only Stalin and Voroshilov among the members of the *Politburo* entered the Party before him. Shvernik was born in 1888 and joined the Communist Party about 1905, holding various Party posts and experiencing the usual arrests in the following years. He first became prominent in 1923 as People's Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the RSFSR. From 1926 to 1927 he was a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In 1929, on the removal of M. Tomski, head of the trade-unions, Shvernik assumed control of them, retaining his position until about 1944. In 1939 Shvernik was made an alternate member of the *Politburo*, but he has never received full membership. He was Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR from 1937 to 1946; after President Kalinin's death in 1946, he became Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

(m) *Army General Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bulganin*.—Although he has had little experience as a field commander, Bulganin is Marshal Voroshilov's successor in the administration of military affairs. At the time of the Civil War, he led operations on the Turkestan Front. Bulganin was born in 1895; he joined the Communist Party in 1917. After some experience as a factory manager in the 1920's, he became Chairman of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies in 1931, a position that he held until 1937. Before the war he was Chairman of the State Bank of the USSR and in 1940 he became a Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (now Council of Ministers), presiding over the Economic Council of Metallurgy and Chemistry attached to that body. Beginning in 1942 Bulganin acted as a member of several Military Councils attached to military fronts (army groups), and in 1944 he replaced Voroshilov on the State Defense Committee. In 1945 he became a Deputy Commissar of Defense and in the reorganization of 1946 he received the portfolio of First Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Armed Forces of the USSR. When Stalin resigned as Minister of Armed Forces in 1947, Bulganin became the new Minister. In 1946 Bulganin was made an alternate member of the *Politburo* and member of the *Orgburo* of the Central Committee.

(n) *Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kosygin*.—Kosygin, the most recent addition to the ruling group in the Soviet Union, was born in 1904, the son of a St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) worker, and gradually advanced from factory hand to factory director. He entered the Communist Party in 1927 and became Chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet of Workers' Deputies in 1939. Continuing his rise in the constitutional government, he became a People's Commissar for the Textile Industry of the RSFSR in 1939 and Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR in 1944. He was relieved of the latter post in 1945 and the following year became a Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and an alternate member of the *Politburo*.

(4) Membership

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has multiplied in membership several times in the course of its 30-year rule, although only in the last 10 years has the growth been steady. During the recent war the Party ranks were opened wider than they had ever been previously, particularly to men in the armed forces. The current membership is around 6 million. Since the end of the war the emphasis has been on indoctrinating present members rather than on adding new ones.

Party membership is greatest in the central Great Russian areas and in urban, industrial regions. It is weakest in rural areas. Membership policy has been broadened to include more representatives of all strata of society. The Party rules were changed in 1939 to facilitate the entry of industrial engineers, administrators, intellectuals, and peasants, chiefly through the Red Army.

(5) The Party and the government

The Communist Party, as the only legal party in the Soviet Union, exercises full control over the government. The relationship between the Party and the government in the enactment and administration of laws clearly illustrates the ruling position of the Party in the Soviet system (FIGURE X-3). Legislative enactment or administrative decision follows rather than precedes Party decisions. Party "directives" have acquired the force of binding rules, and the Party refers to itself as the "ruling party." Since the early 1930's important measures have been promulgated as joint Party-government decrees, those for the USSR being issued in the name of the Central Committee for the Party and of the Council of Ministers (formerly People's Commissars) for the government. For example, the basic statute of 1935 governing collective farm organization was issued in this form.

The Party secures its control over the governmental apparatus through the presence of Party groups in governmental organizations on all levels of the hierarchy. In elective organs, such as the various Soviets, the Party members form groups which advance the Party program. These Party groups are responsible to the corresponding Party organizations. This device is more important in local soviets, where the Party group is likely to be in a minority, than in such bodies as the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, where the majority are Party members.

Party units in ministries and other administrative agencies have a somewhat different function from that of Party units in productive organizations. In ministries the Party units lack the control functions which they have in production units. They are not allowed to discuss the policies adopted by the ministry, because then the Party unit would become a second center of control, competing with the ministerial hierarchy. Defects discovered by Party units in ministries are to be reported to the Central Committee of the Party and to the chief officials of the ministry.

At high levels practically all government posts are occupied by Party members, who as a rule simultaneously hold important Party posts. Illustrative of this situation is the fact that 11 of the 14 members of the *Politburo* have served in the past year as Chairman or Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers.

(6) The Party and the Soviet economy

The Party's control over the Soviet economy is as complete as its control over the government apparatus. Since under the Soviet system most of the economic apparatus is state-operated, the Party's domination of the state secures its rule over the economy. On the lower economic

levels, in factories and mines and on state and collective farms, the Party has three principal methods of securing its dominance. First, the key positions in the economic hierarchy are frequently occupied by Party members. Second, within each productive unit the Party group or groups take an active part in the affairs of the shop, plant, or farm. Such Party groups, unlike those at the ministerial level, have the right of checking on the activities of the administration and are ultimately responsible for the persistence of defects in the work of the enterprise. Finally, the Party may guide economic activities through its commanding position in trade-unions and local governmental bodies such as the soviets. The process of differentiating management functions from Party and trade-union functions has been very troublesome for the Soviet Government. Despite a gradual increase in management prerogatives, the share of Party units in control of economic activities is still very large.

(7) The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Communist Parties of other countries

In 1943 the Communist or Third International was liquidated. Since 1919 it had served as an official linking organization between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of other countries. The Third International, always guided by its Soviet unit, faithfully reacted to turns in the course pursued by Moscow. Since the liquidation of the International, the non-Soviet Communist Parties have continued to pursue policies essentially in agreement with Soviet policy. There are indications that the directive functions of the former Communist International may have been decentralized to regional levels. Although the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a Party has not engaged in public relations with other national Parties, the USSR has facilitated the return to liberated and defeated countries of prominent ex-Comintern leaders who for years had been residing in the USSR.*

106. INTERNAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC ORDER

A. Courts and legal system

(1) Legal system

The Russian system of justice, which was inherited by the Soviet regime, bore the characteristics of a Continental or Roman legal system rather than those of English and American common law courts. Russian law rested on a set of general principles rationalized into various codes, rather than on traditional precedents or customs. This system emphasized legislation more than adjudication, and the role of the judge more than the role of the jury.

* Information was released in October 1947, that in September 1947 the Communist Parties of nine European countries—the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Italy, and France—formed a new international organization. Popularly designated as the "Cominform," this organization was formally constituted as an "Information Bureau of the Communist Parties." Although it was not publicly given powers of control over the various Communist Parties comparable to those exercised by the defunct Comintern, undoubtedly the Cominform is used to integrate Communist activities, at least in Europe. The leading role assigned to representatives of the USSR Communist Party at Cominform meetings and in Cominform organs is a guarantee of Soviet orientation, regardless of the fact that the Cominform headquarters are assigned to Belgrade (Beograd) rather than to Moscow (Moskva), the headquarters of the Third International.

The Bolsheviks infused new concepts into the old Roman system. The socialist system of justice was avowedly a class system, designed to uphold rule by the proletariat. A People's Commissar of Justice once said that the Soviet court is a weapon, more refined than a club or rifle, but still a weapon. The realization of "justice" is viewed not as the realization of some eternal and classless principle but as the realization of "proletarian justice": the achievement of a socialist economy, the security of the proletarian state, the overthrow of class enemies. In conformity with this idea, Soviet criminal law has considered the most serious crimes to be those against the state, such as counterrevolutionary plots, and theft of state property and, following these, antisocial acts in general. Crimes of a personal character, even homicide, have been punished less severely. A similar concept was embodied in Tsarist legislation, although "political" crimes were then defined somewhat differently.

In the early period of Soviet rule a defendant's social origin and status strongly influenced the disposition of his case. For example, for the same offense a "bourgeois" was given a stiffer sentence than a person of "proletarian" origin. This factor has receded in importance as the Soviet social system has developed its own occupational groups. Social status is still taken into consideration, however, in that a vagrant or a floating worker now receives short shrift from Soviet courts.

Although the drawing up of codes of laws was begun soon after the Revolution, the principal Soviet codes date from the early and middle 1920's. They have been revised many times, and at present there is a broad program under way to institute new All-Union codes in place of the existing, chiefly Republican, codes.

Judges in the USSR are elected for terms varying from five years for the higher judges to three years for the People's Court judges. The election is by the people in the case of the lowest courts, and by soviets in the case of the upper courts. Soviet constitutions prescribe that judges shall be independent, subordinate only to the law. This "independence" does not imply that the judiciary constitutes a coordinate and autonomous branch of the Government, nor that judges are free to rule on the validity of administrative acts. Juries are not used, but courts are always collegial. The usual practice in cases of original jurisdiction is to have two "public representatives," sometimes called "people's assessors" (*narodnye zasedateli*), sit with the judge on the case. Cases coming up for review are usually heard by three judges.

Court proceedings are carried on in the language of the Republic (Union or Autonomous) or of the Autonomous *Oblast*. Translation is provided for persons not knowing the language. A Soviet bar exists to provide counsel. Except in special cases, court proceedings are public.

The "public assessors" on courts are avowedly amateurs, serving for short periods of time. As a matter of fact, even the full-time Soviet judges have had, in the majority of instances, little if any formal judicial training. Formerly the Soviet leaders were chiefly interested in securing judges who were close to the "people" (i.e., to the new ruling groups and their ideology). The development of a complex body of Soviet law has led to a greater emphasis on the training of judges and the development of trained judicial cadres.

(2) USSR courts

(a) Supreme Court of the USSR.—The USSR Supreme Court is elected for a five-year term by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. It consists of 69 members and 25

~~Confidential~~

public representatives. Its original jurisdiction is limited to important criminal and civil cases. More important, the Supreme Court is a court of cassation to review both the law and the facts of cases decided by inferior courts. This review can be initiated only by the President of the Supreme Court or the Prosecutor General of the USSR (FIGURE X-3).

The Supreme Court functions through five specialized panels, or collegiums—for criminal cases, civil cases, and military, railroad, and water transport cases. The court employs "public representatives" in its trials of original cases but not in review trials. Unlike other Soviet courts the Supreme Court of the USSR sits regularly in plenary sessions attended by the justices, the Prosecutor General of the USSR, and the Minister of Justice. Through these plenary sessions the Supreme Court may not only review decisions of the specialized panels but also hand down directives to lower courts on judicial matters.

(b) *Special courts*.—The USSR has three types of special courts which function as the courts of original jurisdiction under the specialized panels of the Supreme Court for military, railroad, and water transport cases. The military tribunals, which are scattered for the most part among the armed forces, hear cases involving court martial offenses among the armed forces and cases of espionage and treason among the population in general. The other special courts are the line courts for railroad and water transportation workers, who are under semi-military discipline.

(3) Lower courts

(a) *Supreme Court of a Union Republic*.—A Union Republic Supreme Court is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic for a five-year term. It functions both as a court of original jurisdiction and as a review court.

(b) *Oblast (and krai) courts*.—The *oblast* and *krai* courts are elected by the Soviets of the respective areas for a five-year term. They function as review courts on cases brought up from People's Courts, and as courts of original jurisdiction for cases too important to be handled by the People's Courts. The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics occupy a position roughly analogous to that of the *oblast* courts.

(c) *"People's Courts" (Narodnye Sudy)*.—People's Courts, or District Courts, are the most numerous Soviet courts. "People's judges" are elected for three-year terms by direct election of *raion* voters. The People's Courts have a general jurisdiction in criminal and civil cases, and handle many disputes connected with labor law. As the lowest link in the Soviet judicial system they have, of course, no review functions.

(4) Prosecution

The Prosecutor General (*Generalny Prokurator*) of the USSR is at the apex of a legal system separate from and yet integrated with the Soviet court system and the administrative offices of the Ministry of Justice (FIGURE X-3). Soviet prosecutors, both on the Union level and within the Republics, play a more important role in the Soviet Union than does the attorney general in Western countries. The prosecutor's office not only prepares cases for trial and presents them in court but has a broad review authority over judicial matters. The power of the prosecutor to initiate a review of judicial decisions makes court proceedings at all times and places vulnerable to prosecutorial intervention. A sign of the authority vested in the Prosecutor General of the USSR is the fact that his term of office is fixed constitutionally at seven years, longer

than that for any other Soviet post. In order to achieve centralized direction of law enforcement, uniform for the entire USSR, the Prosecutor's staff is independent of local organs of power. The Prosecutor General of the USSR is named by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Prosecutors of Union and Autonomous Republics and of *oblasts* are named by the USSR Prosecutor General. Those for smaller areas are nominated by the Prosecutor of the Union Republic, subject to the consent of the Prosecutor General of the USSR. All but the Prosecutor General of the USSR have five-year terms. The USSR Prosecutors may intervene in civil as well as criminal cases. In law enforcement activities Prosecutors have two basic lines of approach. On the one hand, they can proceed through the judiciary, prosecuting cases at all levels and carrying them from lower to higher courts. On the other hand, they can operate through governmental channels. In checking the execution of laws, a prosecutor can complain of an illegal act of a lower organ of government, such as a *raion* soviet, to the government organ immediately superior, the *oblast* executive committee, for instance. Prosecutors are warned not to substitute their decisions for those of administrative agencies and local government bodies, and in fact they have no power to revoke the decisions of these organs. Nevertheless, the power to review the activities of these agencies brings under the eyes of the Prosecutors the whole realm of government activity, just as the power to initiate and carry forward criminal prosecutions brings the behavior of all citizens under the observation of the Prosecutors.

B. Police

The police system of the Soviet Union has two main arms, the regular police and the security police. Though at times the two have been brought under the control of the same department, they are distinct in operation. The security forces include both uniformed personnel and secret agents.

(1) Militia

The militia (properly Workers' and Peasants' Militia) is the regular Soviet police force. It is attached to local government units and, in the case of the "departmental" militia, to institutions and enterprises (factories, etc.) requiring special protection. (The departmental militia is organized on a basis of contract between the militia authorities and the particular institution serviced.) The militia performs the usual functions of police: walking beats, guarding property, directing traffic, detecting violations of laws, and seizing suspects. Although from 1934 to 1943 the militia was usually grouped with the political police under the Ministry (formerly People's Commissariat) of Internal Affairs, there is no organic connection between the two groups.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), as it is now called, controls the convoy and border troops as well as the militia and has charge of the penal camps. Convoy troops act as guards during the transportation of prisoners while border troops protect the frontier areas. The MVD directs the work of the Union Republic Ministries of the same name, except in the RSFSR, which uses the USSR apparatus. The MVD has a special type of local organization in which subordinate MVD "administrations" are created at all levels of government down to the *raions*. During the war the MVD operated the anti-aircraft defense system and aided the armed forces in many respects. Occasionally MVD troops served in the front lines, but they were more often employed in mopping up reconquered areas after the Red Army had moved ahead.

(2) State security forces

Since the early days of the Soviet regime, the Soviet leaders have found it advisable to utilize special police forces, distinct from the militia or ordinary police, to protect the security of the Government, the safety of the leaders, and the rule of the Party. Up to 1922 this force was called the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission for Struggle with Counterrevolution and Sabotage). When it was regularized as a USSR agency in 1923, its name became OGPU (Unified State Political Administration). In 1934, with the creation on a Union Republic basis of a People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, OGPU was transformed into a Chief Administration of this Commissariat. The powers of OGPU were curtailed somewhat in this transfer. It could no longer try and convict persons on counterrevolutionary charges, but had to go through the regular court system. The security organ did retain and continues to hold the power (which is exercised through a Special Council) to exile and to confine in concentration camps for periods up to five years persons that it decides are dangerous to the safety of the state.

Administrative responsibility for the direction of the security forces has been frequently changed. From 1934 to 1941 they were combined with the militia, the convoy and border guards, the fire departments, and the civil registry offices under a single department or commissariat, the NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs).

In February 1941 the state security or political police forces were established as a separate commissariat, the People's Commissariat of State Security. Only a few months later, however, in July 1941 (after the outbreak of war with Germany), the two commissariats were again combined under the direction of Beriya, who had been prominent in political police work since the early twenties. By 1943 the commissariats were again divided; security continued under the direction of Beriya, as People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, until he was relieved of his duties in January 1946. The "other work" to which Beriya was assigned at that time may very well have comprised a broad supervision of all security activities from his post as Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers (formerly People's Commissars).

The Ministry of State Security of the USSR (MGB) is organized like the MVD. The security forces are partly in uniform, partly in plain clothes. They work in close liaison with the border and convoy troops, and in time of war with military units. Espionage and counterespionage are largely responsibilities of the MGB, with help being provided by the MVD. The enormous powers of the security police make them a chief bulwark of the regime, especially in times of trouble. The key individuals in the police system include:

Lavrenti P. Beriya. (See 105, B, (3), (i).)

S. N. Kruglov, Colonel General. From 1939 Central Committee of the Communist Party; 1939-1946 Deputy People's Commissar of State Security (First Deputy from 1941); attended Yalta, San Francisco, and Potsdam Conferences. Minister of Internal Affairs from 1946.

V. S. Abakumov, Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs from 1941; Minister of State Security from October 1946.

107. PRINCIPAL SOURCES

A. Evaluation

Source material on Soviet institutions is of varied quality. The fact that most of this material is in Russian has prevented its wide use.

The sources are adequate for official "data," censuses, laws, statements of government decisions and policies, and records of appointments. Stenographic reports of legislative sessions and Party Congresses and Conferences are published. Soviet periodicals usually contain summary reports of meetings of the leading administrative bodies, such as the Presidium and Council of Ministers, and sometimes of meetings of the Central Committee of the Party.

The affairs of the innermost circle of Soviet leaders are not given publicity. Consequently there is no record of the differences of opinion which presumably exist within this circle from time to time. Also lacking are critical discussions by Soviet authors of Soviet political and sociological developments. Soviet treatises vary from the purely factual to the panegyric.

B. List of references

(1) Encyclopedias

1. BOLSHAYA SOVETSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIYA (The Large Soviet Encyclopedia), Moscow, 1926-46 (still incomplete).
2. KRATKAYA SOVETSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIYA (The Short Soviet Encyclopedia), Moscow, 1943.
3. Mescheraykov, N. L. (Ed.)
MALAYA SOVETSKAYA ENTSIKLOPEDIYA (The Small Soviet Encyclopedia) (2d ed.), Moscow, 1933-38.
4. Stuchka, P. (Ed.)
ENTSIKLOPEDIYA GOSUDARSTVA I PRAVA (Encyclopedia of the State and the Law), Moscow, 1929-30.

(2) Official Documents

5. KONSTITUTSII SOVETSKIKH SOTSIALISTICHESKIKH RESPUBLIK (Constitutions of the Soviet Socialist Republics), Moscow, 1938.
6. SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENII I RASPORYAZHENII SOVETA MINistrov SSSR (Collected Enactments and Orders of the Council of Ministers, USSR), Moscow, 1938 to date.
7. SOBRANIYE ZAKONOV SSSR (Collected Laws of USSR), Moscow, 1924-38.
8. VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR (Gazette of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR), Moscow, 1938 to date.
9. ZASEDANIYA VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, STONOGRAFICHESKI OTCHET (Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, stenographic report), Moscow, 1936 to date.

(3) Newspapers

10. IZVESTIYA, Moscow daily (Government organ).
11. MOSCOW NEWS, Moscow semiweekly in English.
12. PRAVDA, Moscow daily (Party organ).

(4) Journals

13. BOLSHEVIK, Moscow semimonthly (Party journal).
14. PARTINAYA ZhIZN (Party Life), Moscow semimonthly journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
15. SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO (The Soviet State and Law), Moscow monthly journal published by Institute of Law of USSR Academy of Sciences and the All-Union Institute of Juridical Science of Ministry of Justice of USSR.

(5) Population and Nationalities

16. A Guide to the changes in Administrative Divisions of the USSR, including areas and population figures (Revised), published as OIR Report No. 1163-A by Division of Research for Europe, Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State, April 10, 1947. (Restricted).

17. Cressey, Geo. B.
THE BASIS OF SOVIET STRENGTH, New York, 1945.

18. Hrdlicka, Ales.
THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION, Washington, 1942.

19. KULTURNOYE STROITELSTVO SSSR, STATISTICHESKII SBORNIK (Cultural Development of the USSR, a Statistical Handbook), Moscow, 1940.

20. Lamont, Corliss.
THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION, New York, 1944.

21. Lorimer, F. G.
THE POPULATION OF THE SOVIET UNION: HISTORY AND PROSPECTS, 1946.

22. Notestein, F. W., and others.
THE FUTURE POPULATION OF EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION, Geneva, League of Nations, 1944.

23. Sulkevich, S.
TERRITORIYA I NASELENIYE SSSR (Territory and Population of USSR), Moscow, 1940.

(6) Government

24. Denisov, A. I.
SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVENNOYE PRAVO (Soviet Public Law), Moscow, 1940.

25. POLITICHESKI SLOVAR (Political Dictionary), Moscow, 1940.

26. SOVETSKOYE ADMINISTRATIVNOYE PRAVO (Soviet Administrative Law), Moscow, 1940.

27. Studenikin, S.
SOVETSKOYE ADMINISTRATIVNOYE PRAVO (Soviet Administrative Law), Moscow, 1945.

28. Vasilev, A. N.
GOSUDARSTVENNOYE USTROISTVO SSSR (The Governmental Structure of the USSR), Moscow, 1941.

29. Vyshinskii, A. Ya. (Ed.)
SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVENNOYE PRAVO (Soviet Public Law), Moscow, 1938.

(7) Party

30. Stalin, J.
O VELIKOI OTECHESTVENNOI VOINE SOVETSKOGO SOYUZA (The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union), 5th ed., Moscow, 1946.

31. Stalin, J.
VOPROSY LENINIZMA (Problems of Leninism), 11th ed., Moscow, 1945.

32. THE LAND OF SOCIALISM TODAY AND TOMORROW (Reports and Decisions of Eighteenth Congress of Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Moscow, 1939.

33. USTAV VKP (b) (By-laws of Communist Party of Soviet Union), Moscow, 1943.

34. VKP(b) v REZOLYUTISIYAKH i RESHENIYAKH SEZDOV, KONFERENCEI, i PLENUMOV TsK (The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in resolutions and decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and plenary meetings of the Central Committee), 2 vols., Moscow, 1940.



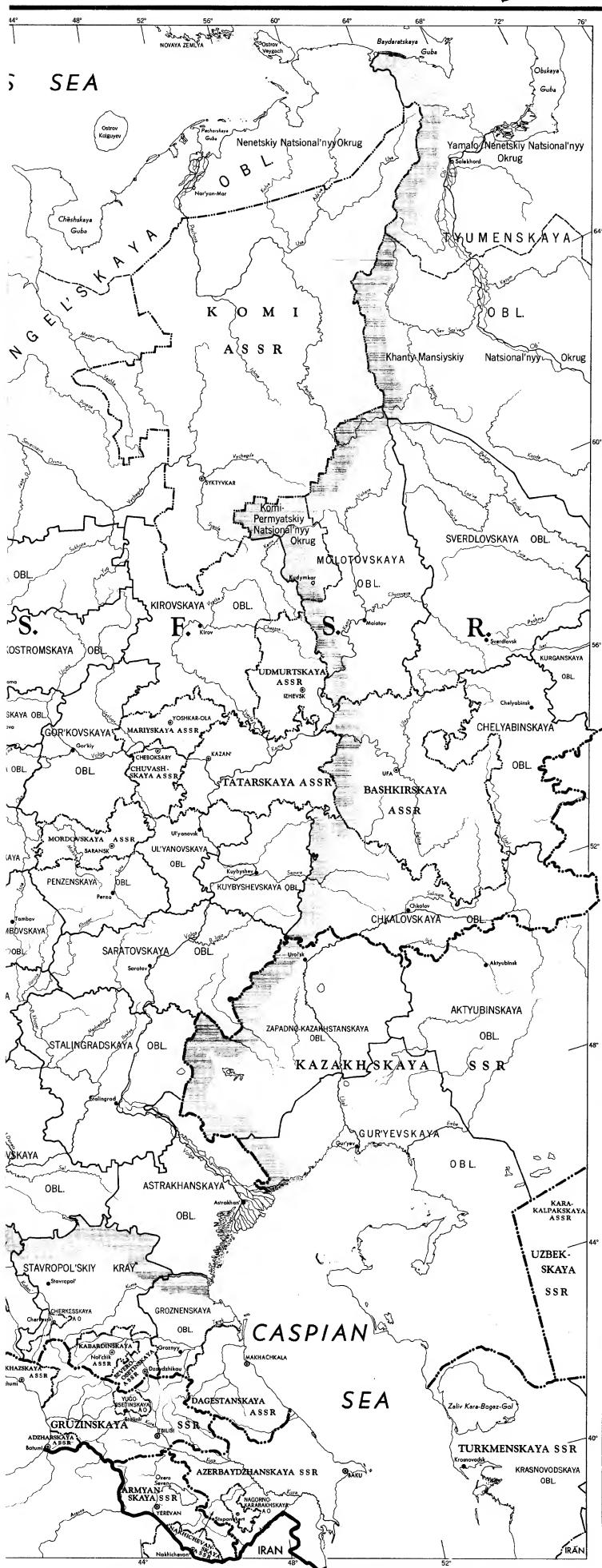


TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	Page		Page
105. POLITICAL FACTORS	X - 28	106. INTERNAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC ORDER	X - 34
A. Introduction	X - 28	A. Courts and legal system	X - 34
B. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union	X - 28	(1) Legal system	X - 34
(1) Ideology	X - 28	(2) USSR courts	X - 34
(2) Organization	X - 29	(3) Lower courts	X - 35
(3) Leaders (members of the Politburo)	X - 30	(4) Prosecution	X - 35
(4) Membership	X - 33	B. Police	X - 35
(5) The Party and the government	X - 33	(1) Militia	X - 35
(6) The Party and the Soviet economy	X - 33	(2) State security forces	X - 36
(7) The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of other countries	X - 34	107. PRINCIPAL SOURCES	X - 36
		A. Evaluation	X - 36
		B. List of references	X - 36

Produced by

Department of State
Department of the Army

Department of the Navy
Department of the Air Force

Published by

THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Original

~~Confidential~~